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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

NOVEMBER
1908



"Take keer of the stummicks, sez I,
an' the morals'll take keer o'themselver"
—OUT OF THE DUMP.

PUBLISHED BY
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY (COÖPERATIVE)
CHICAGO U.S.A.

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Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1908 under Act of March 3, 1893

THE International Socialist Review

A Monthly Journal Of International Socialist Thought

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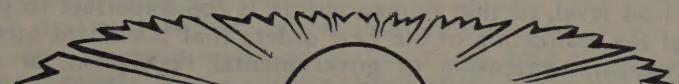
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The subscription price of the Review is \$1.00 a year, payable in advance, postage included to any address in the Universal Postal Union. Advertising rate 15 cents per line, \$20.00 per page, no discount for time or space. Address all communications to

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Co-operative
153 East Kinzie St., Chicago



THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. IX

NOVEMBER, 1908

No. 5

Socialism for Students.

I. Why Study Socialism?



SOCIALISM is the issue today. It inspires press, pulpit and forum; it is the theme of artist and poet; it is the problem of problems confronting the statesman. For many years the Socialists of Germany, France and other European countries have been able to say truthfully that their governments formulated no policies without first considering: "How will this effect the Socialist movement?" In America the new force in politics was a little slow in coming to be felt. But the spectre of Socialism has entered the White House and is being wrestled with by the two dominant political parties.

While Socialism is the all-absorbing topic of discussion, it is a subject concerning which the greatest misunderstanding prevails. Within recent years no less a personage than Eugene Richter, while member of the German Reichstag, wrote a book called "Pictures of the Future," in which he most effectively demolished the straw man who advocates governmental interference in every detail of life. And in the

campaign of 1906 our own Speaker of the House of Representatives, Joseph G. Cannon, unburdened his bulging brow of the "stalest of the stale" — that "Socialism means dividing up." We are still told that Socialism would reduce us to a dead level, or that human nature is too imperfect to permit of the realization of the new order; that Socialism means paternalism — extension of governmental regulation, or anarchy — destruction of all government; that Socialism existed thousands of years ago, or that it is a thousand years ahead of the times; that Socialism is a beautiful but impossible utopia, or that it is the coming slavery.

One need not pause here to meet these common objections to Socialism. They have been admirably answered by Work, Spargo, Vail, Hundman; Plechanoff; and Marx and Engels. The objections usually encountered are found to spring from misinformation as to what Socialism is, and, more particularly, of the aim of the Socialist movement. In studying Socialism, we can, in a great measure, note the historical situations that gave rise to other schools of thought and that prompt the criticisms offered by the opponents of Socialism.

If Socialism is not what the non-Socialists declare it to be — what is it?

Here is the word of an authority:

"Modern Socialism," says Engels, in his Socialism; Utopia and Scientific, is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms existing in the society of today, between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalist and wage-workers; on the other hand of the anarchy existing in production."

Let us dwell upon this definition. It contains several points, all of which are indispensable to a clear understanding of Socialism.

First of all, we are dealing with modern Socialism—not the early Socialism of Owen, St. Simon, Fourier and the like. We are not dealing with the many attempts that from Plato to Bellamy have been made to picture a beautiful utopia, upon the impression that, irrespective of actual conditions, it needs but to be presented to any people in order to be promptly accepted. We are not dealing with the prehistoric communism of tribal society, nor with the communism that was practiced in the early days of Christianity.

The Socialism of our time flows out of circumstances "existing in the society of today," not that of five hundred years ago or ten thousand years ago. Here we at once part company with many non-Socialist political economists. Unlike them, we shall not trespass upon Robinson

Crusoe's mythical island. The Indian, with his bow and arrow, shall, for the time being, be allowed to rest his oft-troubled bones in peace in his happy hunting ground; the Esquimaux and South Sea islanders, too, shall be permitted to go their own way rejoicing. For, in this connection, we shall deal only with countries in a state of civilization.

The circumstances which concern us here are the heritage especially of the industrial revolution of the last century. Certain inventions and discoveries gave us steam and electricity for power, which, applied to the simple, inexpensive tool, through the transmitting mechanism of fly-wheels, shafting, pulleys, etc., transformed it into a complicated, expensive machine. The industrial revolution thus separated society, roughly speaking, into two classes: those who own the machines and those who operate them. In other words, a small number of the people, capitalists, possess as their exclusive, private property the land, mines, factories, railroads and other important instruments by the use of which goods are produced to satisfy human wants; while the great mass of the people, workers, possess only their brain and brawn, which they dispose of to the capitalists for wages.

Capitalists and workers meet upon the labor market, the capitalists as buyers, the workers as sellers, of labor power. The capitalists aim to buy the labor power of the workers as cheaply as possible; the workers aim to sell their labor power as dearly as possible. Out of this inherent conflict of interests between capitalists and wage-workers arises the class struggle.

The industrial revolution, at the same time, brought about the factory system with its division of labor and the world market. In the factory thousands of men and women and children toil together, each performing but a single task, the results of hundreds of operations being finally assembled into the finished article. More than that, the four corners of the earth vie with each other to contribute food and clothing for employer and employee, and the building material, illumination, fuel, raw material, machinery and power, for the factory. Again, the factory product is not retained by those who have toiled together to bring it forth, but by the factory owner. But rarely does the owner use even a morsel of the goods produced in his factory. He produces, not for his own use, but for sale. Almost invariably he thrusts the article upon the market in competition with the wares of all lands. Commerce thus breaks down all barriers, destroys all geographical boundaries, establishes international relations and makes the working class of the

whole world kin. Merchandise is your most persistent globe trotter.

But while the production of goods is a social affair, it is nevertheless carried on by the capitalist class for their private profit; that is to say, production is social while ownership and distribution are individual. The workers make and the capitalists take. It is this contradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation which causes the waste, the lack of order and the anarchy that prevails in the making and disposing of goods.

Thus we have the anarchy in production and the consequent class struggle. To explain fully the capitalist system of production; showing that the more useless the capitalists become the richer do they wax in the unpaid labor of the workers; showing that the system is responsible for all the economic ills from which we suffer; showing that the trend of industrial progress is toward the collective, social ownership by all the people of the means of production they use in common—that is Socialist political economy. To organize, upon the basis of the class struggle, all who are dissatisfied with present arrangements, voicing the aims of the oppressed, fighting their battles and having for its ultimate object the elimination of the anarchy in production and the ending the class struggle—that is the Socialist movement.

To aid him in clearly understanding present society, the Socialist turns to the discoveries in the modern sciences, embraces the theory that all life is a change from the simple to the complex, and that every organism and organization rises, flourishes and carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The Socialist brings to light the hidden secrets of past society as his contribution toward the solution of the "riddle of the universe." And the result of this excursion is the materialistic interpretation of history, the theory that, from epoch to epoch, changes in the forms of government, human nature, arts, sciences, philosophies and conceptions of the purpose of existence can be accounted for only by considering the changes in the manner of securing a livelihood; that, consequently, since prehistoric communism one struggle between oppressors and oppressed has followed another, these struggles being always political in character, and that the time has now come when the industrial revolution must be supplemented by a political and social revolution, whereby the workers, in securing power, once and for all time abolish class distinctions. Modern Socialism is therefore scientific. The Socialist movement is therefore a political movement.

Relying upon the assurance that every transformation in the economic basis of society is accompanied by a transformation in the intellectual super-structure, Socialism maintains that once the economic question is settled, that once the lust of gain at the expense of our fellow men is no longer the paramount incentive, as it is today, peering into the baby's cradle, chilling the warmth of the hearth, turning awry the affection of husband and wife and breaking up the family into a camp of enemies—that once the economic pressure is removed, there will follow such a blossoming of all that is best in human nature as will be a veritable rebirth of the soul of man.

The Socialist ideal therefore rests upon a solid foundation.

The Socialist traces the development of the family, property and the state from ancient down to modern times. From a knowledge of the changes the form of the family has undergone in the past, he can more intelligently consider the problems of morality and ethics. In a like manner, a knowledge of the history of property and government enables him to explain ideas of justice and equity, duties and rights. Especially is this valuable in setting aside the evils that can be treated immediately from those that will only adjust themselves after the fundamental wrong is righted. The sociology of the Socialist therefore assumes the broadest dimensions.

The Socialist then directs his attention to the manner in which the human brain operates. He inquires into the process of thinking and ascertains the method by which the mind forms ideas and spins philosophies. He discovers that the material is the substance of the ideal; but that they complement each other in a universal conception. By so doing the Socialist exposes the false reasoning and undermines the last stronghold, the dualism, of his opponents; he establishes a monistic view of life growing out of historical materialism, and completes the synthetic philosophy of Socialism.

In thus dividing Socialism into a system of political economy, a theory of social evolution and an ideal, and showing its relation to modern science, sociology and philosophy, we are just as arbitrary as is Shakespeare in dividing the span of Man's life into seven ages. For, to the Socialist, Socialism is not a piece of mechanism, which can be decomposed into its parts, requiring only lubrication and the touch of some man's finger to start it agoing. To the thirty millions of men and women of all climes and com-

plexions who constitute the international Socialist movement, Socialism is a compact whole, one and indivisible, striving for the freedom of the human race from economic bondage.

Because capitalism degrades woman even more so than man, and because the emancipation of society at large depends upon the emancipation of woman, woman takes her place by the side of man in the Socialist movement; because society is divided into two contending classes, the Socialist movement is a class movement; because economic questions are political questions, the Socialist movement is a political movement; because the working class are without a country, migrating from one end of the earth to the other in search of a master, because capitalism is international, the Socialist movement is international; because the source of the trouble is the contradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation, not reform but a social revolution is the remedy; because the workers cannot free themselves without at the same time freeing all mankind, the Socialist movement has the grandest ideal of any movement in history.

Socialism is something more than the passing of one order in favor of another. It is born of the slavery, the anguish and the travail of the world's toilers. The story of labor's struggle upward out of bondage is written in tears and blood. It is a record of bold spirits who have been ostracised and exiled because of their convictions. It is a record of noble men who have gladly abandoned lives of ease and luxury to bend their genius to the cause of the oppressed. It is a record of a mighty host who have gone to their graves "unwept, unhonored and unsung," because of the unquenchable fire of justice burning in their breasts. It is a record of the sublimest comradeship that ever encircled the earth.

With the coming of the Socialist movement, labor ceases to be an object of pity and charity. Conscious of its wrongs and how to right them, it no longer looks to the upper class for its salvation, but sounds the call for the solidarity of the workers of the world, to the end that all economic oppression may be abolished. Against the political economy, the science, the philosophy, the law, the morality, the art and the ideals of the masters, it submits its own political economy, science, philosophy, law, morality, art and ideal. Against the present labor offers the future.

Finally, the Socialist recognizes that, while the revolutions have been fought and won by the lower classes without either they or the upper classes having a well-defined idea

of the outcome; the benefits have, on that account, accrued to the upper classes; that the social revolution which it is the mission of the working classes as a class, to accomplish, because it is a movement for the benefit of the masses, requires the intelligence of the workers and particularly a thorough familiarity with Socialist thought by those who ally themselves with the workers. The slogan of the Socialist therefore, "More light, more light!" His emblem is the arm and torch.

Through the labyrinths of darkness and gloom the seeker after truth must wend his way for the golden thread of knowledge. It is thus that the torchlight of truth is ever borne aloft by her apostles, now to flicker and wane among the crags, then to illuminate the sombre wilderness; now to be lost in the caverns, then to burst forth anew from the mountain peaks: ever forward, ever onward, ever upward!

JOS. E. COHEN.

Philadelphia, Pa.

A COURSE OF READING.

The following list of works is recommended to the student. They cover the subject touched upon by the above article, and it is suggested that they be read in the order named.—J. R. C.

What's So and What Isn't. By John M. Work. Cloth, 50c.

The Socialists. By John Spargo. Cloth, 50c; paper, 10c.

The Common Sense of Socialism. By John Spargo. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 25c.

Proletariat; Capitalist Class; Class Struggle. By Karl Kautsky. Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

Modern Socialism. By Charles H. Vail. Cloth, 75c; paper 25c.

Principles of Scientific Socialism. By Charles H. Vail. Cloth \$1.00; paper, 35c.

Communist Manifesto. By Marx and Engels. Cloth, 50c; paper, 10c.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. Cloth, 50c paper, 10c.

Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome. By Morris and Bax. Twentieth Century Press, London.

History of Socialism in the United States. By Morris Hillquit. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York.

Recent Progress of the Socialist Movement in America. By Morris Hillquit. Paper, 10c.

(All of the books named above are published by Charles H. Kerr & Company, 153 Kinzie street, Chicago, and will be mailed promptly on receipt of price, except where the name of another publisher is given. We do not sell books of other publishers, nor can we undertake to answer questions about them.—Editor.)

What is the Use of Theories?

DR. FRIEDRICH ADLER.

I.



HERE are two means of production in possession of bourgeois society: the means of life and the means of death. The means of life consist of machines for the manufacture of clothing, food, everything, in short, which is necessary to existence; the means of death are the weapons, the guns and cannons, with which it is possible to wound and kill mankind. The possession of weapons and machines is the monopoly of bourgeois society; on this monopoly is based its overlordship.

The working class possesses nothing but its labor power; the power of which the bourgeoisie must make use in order to put into operation either the life-giving or the death-dealing machines. This fact determines the purpose and means of the struggle of the workers. The purpose is the seizure by society as a whole of all existing means of production; of the machines in order that they may be put to work for the good of all mankind; of the guns in order that all with equal right may see to it that they are not brought into use.

Until the means of production have finally been taken possession of by the community as a whole, it is necessary to dictate to the capitalist class what use it shall make of these means of production, to set limits to its despotism. The extent to which the machines are used as a means of exploitation must be limited; the bourgeoisie must be given to understand that weapons are not to be played with, that they must submit to limitations if they wish to use them to force workers into submission. *And this will be done.* In place of the decree, in place of the imposition of labor terms by masters bent on "running their own business," we have now the labor contract. At first only a single factory would have its hours of labor, scale of wages, etc. settled by contract; later an entire branch of industry of a given city, and finally of the whole country, would be included. To be sure for the present the contract is between the workers, as one party, and the capitalist, as another; while what we are working for is that in settling the terms all individuals concerned co-operate as equal factors.

But we have much more inclusive enactments which affect

the life of the individual quite as much as the labor contract; the laws of the state. These also at first are decrees of an absolute ruler, then of a ruling class—decrees in the making of which the worker has nothing to say. In the first place the worker is entirely without rights, but it is possible in ever increasing measure to put an end to this condition. Thus the nature of law is constantly changing: from being a decree of a particular class it tends more and more to become an agreement among all citizens. No longer a privileged class, but the majority of the people has the determining influence. To be sure not the exclusive one; for the minority does not receive concessions in proportion to its strength. It is coerced, and so feels itself no longer bound by law and can obstruct society in all its functions.

As in the factory, so in the state the worker is at first without rights: as he gains influence in the industrial world so will he finally in the political. Like the despotism of the individual capitalist, that of the capitalistic government is more limited by the organized working classes. *What means are at the disposal of this class?* In the final analysis it can depend only on the property which it actually possesses, of which it enjoys the free use; *the life of the individual person and in particular his labor power.*

The first weapon of the workers is thus the refusal to use their labor power, by the withdrawal of the means of production from service, i. e. the strike. This includes the means of life as well as the means of death: the idleness of machinery, which we experience every day, and the refusal to carry guns, which must finally come in decisive conflicts.

Further, the power of the working class, in the Socialistic sense, operates above all through the only machine which belongs to the proletariat,—through its organizing activity, that means to the *production of power in the working class*. In the other means of production Socialistic activity can only bear a part in so far as control has been wrested from the owning class. The work at the “machine” in our labor organizations is *Socialist* work. Finally the work done with the means of death, the guns, can also become Socialistic, for “the fate of the world depends on muskets.”

Labor-power, and finally life itself, are the support upon which in the last analysis our entire struggle depends. In the conferences concerning labor contracts as well as in the conferences called parliaments, in which much more inclusive agreements are discussed, the achievements of our delegates, our representatives, depend entirely on the power of the workers who support them, on their number, on their willingness to make sacrifices, on their readiness to stake their labor power on the

issue and finally throw their very lives into the breach. The working class must not deceive itself into the notion that in the drawing up of agreements in offices and parliaments its representatives play the important part, that they can do the work alone. The fact is just the contrary: everything depends on the extent to which the agents of the working class can depend upon their constituents. The great body needs not even to enter visibly into action; *readiness for the conflict* is usually enough. Only the smallest fraction of agreements are reached as a result of open war; but the degree of *preparedness for war determines the nature of the agreement*. In parliaments our demands are never granted, and yet every decision that is come to, every law that is past, contains concessions to the working class exactly in proportion to the *actual power* of that class at that particular moment.

If this, briefly described, is the weapon of the proletariat, we are forced to answer the question: Then why is there always so much talk of theories? And here and there has been heard the query, *Do we really need theories at all?*

In order to make ourselves clear on this question, we must first answer another one: What in reality are theories? Are they actually as foreign to every-day life as many imagine who have never answered this question? or are they not rather a natural product which is constantly playing a part in our activity?

II.

A theory is a system of generalizations ranged in the simplest possible scheme; or, to put it in another way, a system of laws, natural laws, or, better, laws of science.

If we wish to know what a theory is we shall first have to investigate the nature of these generalizations; these laws which go to make up a theory.

At the very beginning we must guard against a misunderstanding. We have the quite unpractical habit of calling two altogether different things by the same name. Above we have just used the word "law," spoken of laws of state, and said that they were in the first place decrees and that with increasing democratization they developed into agreements among citizens. A law of science is, as we shall have occasion to show, no agreement, but a generalization.

"The burnt child shuns the fire." This old proverb shows clearly how a law of science comes into being. The child touches the stove and experiences pain. If he repeats this experience, he is finally forced to recognize a *relation* between the feeling of pain and the touching of the stove. He formulates the law, "If I touch the stove, it hurts." This generalization comes into his

mind as often as he sees the stove, and it comes to regulate his action; he respectfully avoids the disagreeable object.

Such generalizations we have in great number. A theory includes them in a system so that they may be more easily laid hold of when needed.

The child merely expresses what has happened: "On touching the stove I suffered pain." Law, and likewise theory, is thus in the first place a description of an experience which has occurred in the past. The utility of such a mental summing up of experience results from the fact that it saves us the *necessity of repeating experiences*. *In determining our action in future cases we can make use of the experiences of the past*. The child burns itself a few times, then no more; for when he approaches the stove his thought begins to function; his brain becomes an apparatus for the inhibition of action. Through theory there is thus accomplished an economy, a saving. Theory is, therefore, a *description* and fulfills an economic function.

But the child is not under the necessity of burning himself at the stove in order to utilize this theory. *Experience each must go through for himself*; theory on the contrary, can be *communicated* from man to man. This is accomplished through teaching; its purpose is to save the individual the necessity of experience through the communication of the experiences of other individuals.

The child to whom his mother says: "Do not touch the stove; it will hurt; other children have tried it often enough,"—this child can go through life without ever once burning his fingers. But the saving from experience by means of theory goes much farther than would be possible through mere oral teaching. Whole generations are saved from the necessity of going through unpleasant experience by the storing up of records in libraries which are open to future generations. It is only through this economy that it is possible for us to make ourselves at home in the world, to accomplish anything. For what an individual person experiences himself is only a minute section of the world, by means of which he can only serve the most primitive functions and remains exposed to manifold dangers. Let us imagine for a moment what our lives would be like deprived of all we have got from books and newspapers; then add to this what has been imparted to us through systematic teaching, and finally all that has been told us by word of mouth — and we shall see that the little remaining, which we have experienced ourselves, would be of small use. Deprived of the communication made possible by thought, by theory, we should sink back into the animal kingdom, or rather, we should never have risen out of it.

A single individual can have but few experiences; he is de-

pendent on those of others, and this is just as true in ordinary life as in the most complex scientific activities. Here comes into play *the one great faith* which science must acknowledge; that faith which the great thinker Joseph Dietzgen formulated thus: "We are forced to believe in the knowledge of other persons." This is the one faith which we are bound to insist upon, the faith without which all work, all results, would be impossible. But neither in this case shall we be able to *believe always, to believe blindly*. The account which another gives of his experience is not necessarily true. He may have been mistaken, he may have lacked the intelligence necessary to a ninterpretation; or it may be that he purposely falsifies details, that he lacks character. If we discover that at any time we are working upon the basis of false presuppositions, then we must make an examination of the case and so determine if the statement of our fellow being is in harmony with the facts. In general, however, we operate with a considerable element of justifiable faith, without which any work would be impossible.

Advances in knowledge, advances in skill, are only possible so far as we are able to make use of the economic experiences of all the world. This presupposes, however, the formulation of these experiences, *for experience which is not formulated, which has not become theory, is lost, can never again be made use of.* The formulation of experience can be of many different sorts. Were every child to describe in detail the stove at which he had burnt himself, to give an account of all the particular circumstances, we should have great volumes to read about this one fact, that contact with a stove produces pain. Thus there must be *an economy in the formulation of experience.* The characteristic features must be selected and summed up in a short sentence. In all sciences it is in this way that the complicated multifariousness of phenomena is brought under a simple scheme and presented in the form of ready-to-hand, easily applicable propositions. The second purpose of theory is, then, *to save us the labor of memory and reason through the most economical formulation of experience.*

III.

How, then, can theory, this most concise possible account of former experiences, *help us in the future?*

Nature is confusingly manifold, but she exhibits recurrences. A process once observed reappears repeatedly—at least in its main features. Were it not for this, all theory, all science, would be superfluous,—but nothing like life, in our sense of the word, would be at all possible. From the fact that recurrences of like cases are observable, experiences of the past, as summed up in theories, are of use to us. We see a part of a phenomenon, the beginning of a process. Our theories tell us what are the possibilities

as to its continuation, or the appearance of the other parts. That is to say, our theories inform us just what particular cases we have to deal with when a particular combination of phenomena is given. If we had no theories all possibilities would be open. Consider for a moment the discomfort, the suspicion, which we felt when for the first time we stepped up to an entirely unknown machine, e. g. when we saw an automobile for the first time. In such a case we possess no adequate experience; all possibilities are open. One hesitates to touch it, for he is in doubt as to what touch will start it or make it explode. The more experience we gather, the further we develop our theory, by so much we increase our confidence, by so much is there *a lift set to the possibilities*. Therefore we can say with Ernst Mach: Theories (including laws) *are limitations of our expectations in future cases*.

Does theory give us absolute certainty? Do we know by means of theory what must *necessarily* happen? Not at all. We know only what will *most probably* happen. The larger the number of cases of experience on which our theory is based, the oftener the recurrence of a process has taken place, the greater is the probability that it will reappear.

In theory we regard *certain phenomena as dependent upon others*. Theory tells us: hitherto these phenomena were always dependent upon those others. But suddenly it may turn out that *still other phenomena* come into play which so far *have accidentally remained constant*. The result is entirely different from that anticipated by theory. Let us take a simple example: the child who has set up the theory, "if I touch the stove, it hurts," comes again in contact with the stove and experiences no pain. He sees that his theory does not apply to all cases. If he is over hasty—like some labor union men—he will say: Yes, this theory has made a fine fool of me; I'll have nothing more to do with theory! But if he is a wise child he will say: The theory was *incomplete*; I must supplement it; I must see what condition which has hitherto remained constant has now varied. And after some investigation he will reach the conclusion: Not contact with a heated stove. When he first set up his theory it was winter; in the meantime it has become summer. The completed law is *more accurate*, adapted to a larger number of experiences.

Not necessarily does that appear which theory has prophesied. Its appearance is only *probable*, and, further, its probability is in proportion to the exactness with which *determining conditions* have been taken into account. But despite the fact that a theory is not a recipe, that it cannot give an absolute certainty, we conduct ourselves in accordance with it. In the morning we enter a certain house to go to our work because, on the basis of

former experiences, we accept the theoretical supposition that there we can pursue our habitual occupation. Our theory may, however, be false; a condition may have appeared which never appeared before, e. g. that house may have burnt down. But despite the uncertainty we undertake the journey, i. e. we depend upon our theory. For not to go to work because of these unknown possibilities would be far more impractical than to put our theory to the test.

To act in accordance with theory is our most practical course of conduct, for what corresponds to our theory is more likely to happen than anything else.

IV.

An animal in which a wish, a desire, a will, is excited, follows this will automatically and reacts directly. The moth sees the lamp; he has the wish to get nearer and flies into the fire. A child reacts at first like an animal; only gradually does he learn to use a *tool* which will shield him from danger, i. e. theory. A grown-up person restrains the first impulse of his will, reacts first with his brain, determines by means of this tool—theory—what will happen if he gives way to his impulse. If he discovers that his impulse would lead him to dash himself against a wall, he tries to master this desire; but if his theory shows him his impulse will lead him to a higher development, gladly he lets it have free play.

Theories are tools, which we all use. In this sense everyone is a theorizer; the only question is as to whether he is a good or a bad one. The old lady who maintains that Friday is unlucky is also a devotee of a theory, and, further, a theory which is based upon experience. The first fact taken into account by this theory is the crucifixion of Christ; and since then a vast deal of misfortune has occurred on Friday. One has broken a glass, another has sprained his foot, etc. Therefoee old ladies—of both sexes—will not begin a journey on Friday or engage in any complicated undertaking. Now why is the old lady who has summed up her unpleasant Friday experiences in a theory not justified? Because she has not taken in a sufficient range of experience. She has noticed only her Fridays, and never counted the glasses she has “accidentally” broken on other days; otherwise she would have discovered that all the days of the week exhibit about an even number of misfortunes.

Since we all are, and must be, theorizers, the question as to whether a theory is good or bad is of importance not to science alone, but is a matter of the utmost concern in *the direction of our lives*. Therefore has arisen *the bitter strife among theories*. By means of bad theories the oppressed are induced to remain under the protection of the church, under the rod of class rule:

by means of good theories is to be pointed out the way to freedom, the way to the consciousness that it need not always remain so, that it can become different, if we only will it. *Our whole propaganda consists of the attempt to make good theories out of bad ones.*

We have said that we are all forced to be theorizers in the sense that we are all forced to *apply* theories. More than this, everyone contributes, through his experiment, a trifle toward the testing of theories, and thus to their improvement. We have also theorizers in the more restricted sense, who concern themselves with the elaboration of theories, with the formulation of the facts of experience in the briefest and most logically arranged generalizations. It is just as with any tool: there are some whose profession it is to produce tools, and others to manipulate his product. He can produce a very good hammer without being able to drive a nail. Thus it happens in the case of those who elaborate theories and those who apply them and so come to call themselves "practical men." Between practitioners and theorists there often occur differences. You hear the reproach, "He is only a theorist." This means that he is a poor theorist. And likewise, on the other side, when you hear it said, "he is nothing but a practitioner" it does not mean that this fact is a reproach, but that he, also, is a poor theorist. We stand equally in need of good theorists and good practitioners—those who make good theories and those who apply them well. That the same person is at once a good theorizer and a good practitioner comes about only now and then in cases of rare good fortune. But this happy combination is not necessary: the two faculties are not directly connected. It is enough if the practical man knows how to make right application of the theories furnished him by the theorist; and the theorist, on his part, must understand what theories are necessary to the practical man: on the basis of this division of labor productive activity is possible.

A tool can be, moreover, too refined or too complex for a particular purpose. One could not use an apothecary's scale in the common market; its greater exactness is superfluous for the purposes of ordinary life, but demands a greater expenditure of labor,—is thus in the highest degree *uneconomical*. In the same manner the tool furnished by the theorist may be *too good for certain cases*. We use, therefore, theories of various degrees of refinement *side by side*.

Theories couched in the ordinary vernacular and representing only crude approximations are adequate for simple cases. But if fine points, difficult decisions, are in question, then increasingly refined and complicated theories must be utilized: then the

terminology of science, and finally that of mathematics, must be resorted to.

V.

To illustrate what has been said let us glance briefly at *the theories of human society*; and we are particularly interested in the great social upheavals, the *historical development of society*. The original material, *we might say the stuff* with which these theories deal, is the activity, the struggle, of the *human will*. In the first place we see a chaos of clashing wills, an unintelligible tangle of deeds and efforts. For a long time it was impossible to lay down any laws; it was not known that there was any discoverable order among these various individual wills. Men were satisfied to follow the wills of particular personalities and ascribed the chief roles to dominating individuals who were able to assert themselves. Karl Marx was the first who was able to show how *the volition of great masses is directed*; to him we owe the *first great insight* into the will of the masses of men. In the generalization, "The history of all societies thus far is the history of class-struggles," he formulated his view. Thus with one stroke he threw light on the expressions—words and deeds—which embody the volition of all mankind. This law does not include all volitional strivings, but only those which relate to *the development of society*. It was shown that in the bewildering mass of volitional elements great groups of similarly directed wills were discoverable; and thus for the first time we were placed in possession of the key to the understanding of the fundamental phenomena. Clearly outlined class-struggles had often taken place—e. g. in ancient Rome, in the agrarian wars, in the revolution of 1789, in the July revolution of 1830. But never had anyone come to a clear consciousness as to what was at stake. It was class-instinct, class-interest, which was effective; through Marx class-consciousness first became possible. And this theory of the *class-struggle* has been of incalculable value to us. For so long as the class-struggle is carried on unconsciously, without theory, as a mere reflex, the preachers of law and order, the paid writers of the capitalists, have an easy game; without difficulty they can convince us that peace and unity should be maintained between capital and labor, and impose upon us their false theories as to the evils which will follow upon discontent and strife. Against these false theories, these siren calls to a life of peace, Marx made it possible for us to struggle with *full consciousness of our goal*, to carry out our own will *deliberately and systematically*.

Persons unable to understand Marx imagined sometimes that he had overlooked the human will altogether. Marx is always

talking of struggle, of the *revolutionizing of society, of the organization of the workers*, in short, exclusively of acts of the *human will*. That the man who first laid down the theory of the volitional acts of men in society should have "overlooked" the will—this can be affirmed only by persons who have never entered into the spirit of the Marxian teaching, who cannot see the forest for the trees.

But Marx penetrated farther into the theory of the will. He saw that in all periods there were individual minds, ideas, desires for the improvement of the world; that ideals were striven for and that the will was there to realize them. He saw that certain ideas and desires were always frustrated till at last the time came when the will could be effective. He asked himself: What is the significant mark? How is it possible to tell when an idea will be realized? He noticed that in the main the stream of social life flows steadily on. But that great changes always follow alterations in the manner of production. The prerequisite of a social change is always a change in the conditions of production. Thus before the French revolution of 1789 handicraft is replaced by manufacture, by the organization of labor on a large scale; with this there comes a change in the structure of classes; the bourgeoisie comes upon the scene; the stationary condition of society is changed to a mobile one; new positions are occupied preparatory to a struggle. The struggle occurs; the will of the oppressed can prevail: a revolution takes place. Thus Marx gives us for the first time a theory of revolution. Revolutions do not come about because of the plottings of the wicked, as the apostles of law and order proclaim; nor because the really good people, the idealists, have come into their own, as naive liberal historians suppose: on the contrary only when the conditions of production have changed, when the conditions outlined in the Marxian theory of revolution are fulfilled, can the will to revolutionize be victorious, can the desires, the ideas, the will, which are always present, finally prevail.

And this theory, again, is of immediate importance, for it shows us what revolution is possible at the present time, what one can become effective. The reactionaries also wish to bring about a revolution, a revolution back to the good old times—which, at least so far as they were concerned, were so much better. Marx has taught us that all their endeavors must go for naught; the reactionaries can take up our time, can retard us; but in the end they will dash their heads against a stone wall. The workers, too, were in the beginning so naive as to think it possible to bring about a revolution backwards. When the Saxon weavers saw the first machines installed, saw them steal the bread out of the mouths of the workers, drag the children into the fac-

tories and suck their blood day and night, they took to smashing the machines, which were the immediate and evident cause of their distress. And this story was repeated in nearly all countries. Everywhere the first thought was: "Away with the machines!" And the destruction of them followed. But the theory was false. New and greater monsters arrived, and the struggle against them was hopeless. Then Marx showed that it was not the machines that drink the blood of the workers, but the capitalists, who, being owners of the machines, are able to take from the laborer a part of his earnings. He set up the theory of surplus value, the value which the capitalist is able to appropriate instead of turning it over to the worker. And thus Marx furnished, not only the theory of revolution in general, but also the theory of the revolution which we are going through at present, the proletarian revolution. His cry was not, Backward! — like that of the weavers in the 40's — not, Away with the machines! His counsel was rather to build these machines as property of the community, to found a new society in which economical exploitation should be brought to an end.

In regard to this theory of revolution, also, Marx has sometimes been misunderstood. He showed that certain conditions of production are prerequisite, that certain tendencies of the mass-will have appeared, that certain stirrings of the public consciousness prevail. Instead of this a good many persons have interpreted the Marxian explanation to mean that the conditions of production will bring forth a new society automatically — without any exertion of the human will. This is just as irrational as to say that the air brings forth the human race, and yet it is true that air is prerequisite to human existence. Just so is a certain method of production the necessary condition of a new social order.

Theory can never serve as a substitute for the human will, but it is equally true that the human will can never serve in place of theory. The will without theory is blind: theory without will is powerless. Theory shows us what revolutionary elements are present, what ideas, what wishes can be fulfilled, what will is to prevail! It is not enough to will blindly; we do not wish to dash ourselves against a wall: we wish to make our will effective; we wish to triumph! We need theories so that the will which animates the class-conscious workers can achieve the overthrow of our present society, can achieve freedom and victory!

More than sixty years ago Karl Marx wrote in the Communist Manifesto this sentence: "The proletarians have naught to lose but their chains; they have a world to gain!" The first part of this sentence is no longer exactly true to the facts. In these sixty years the proletarians have changed. The scorned,

outlawed, defenseless workers of the forties, without right or recognition, exist no more. By their own might they have raised themselves, built up organizations, taken rights; they stand at the center of events, all activity turns about them. Today they have more than their chains to lose; they have recognition, the fruit of their organizing activity. Every step that they take may mean gain, but also loss. Therefore everyone of them must strive to become more thoughtful; therefore theories are becoming constantly more important as tools in the class-struggle. But if it is true that proletarians today have more to lose than their chains — a world still remains to be won. Proletarians of all lands, unite!

Translated by William E. Bohn.



As to Leveling Down—and Up.



HE RECEIVER—Today someone on our line quoted Attorney-General Bonaparte's Chautauqua address in which he said that Socialists have foolish longings for impossible equality and that when the Socialist saw another man President and realized that he could never reach that high office he was consumed by envy, and it started me to thinking that, after all, envy does play an important part.

THE TRANSMITTER.—Undoubtedly—among people of Bonaparte's environment and circumscribed intellectuality. The Attorney-General, however, is wholly in error as to the direction of the Socialist aspiration. Being little, he sees small. The Socialist does not covet another's place or another's property: he desires to make a place for himself and to possess what he creates.

According to a report of one of William Morris's London meetings, a man described as a Socialist bawled at a passing vehicle, "We'll have you out of that carriage in a year!" The man who said that was not a Socialist; he was a Bonaparte out of a job. To illustrate my meaning, Do you envy the Queen of Spain?

THE RECEIVER.—What! That poor little woman with rings in her ears who had to change her religion over night? I'd rather be a telephone receiver as long as I live!



Attorney-General Bonaparte's Idea of an Exalted Station.

THE TRANSMITTER.—Exactly. But you would like to be a George Eliot?

THE RECEIVER.—Indeed I would; or a Mme. Curie, assisting her husband in developing the scientific miracles of radium.

THE TRANSMITTER.—Still, you would not displace either one or the other?

THE RECEIVER.—Certainly not. To make a name for myself, though—that would be really worth while.

THE TRANSMITTER.—You express the idea precisely. I never knew an English Socialist or a German Socialist who had the slightest desire to supplant King or Kaiser in his mardi-gras trappings; yet I never met one from either land who would not make any sacrifice to reach the station of the truly great — Humboldt, Darwin, Goethe, Burns, Watt, William Morris. To show how little they regard bourgeois "place" or "power," the Socialists of France repudiated a member of the party for accepting a portfolio in a capitalist Cabinet. As to a Socialist's envying the grotesque reactionary rattling around in the Presidential chair in this country at the present time, it is unthinkable.

Socialism is a principle, not an expedient, and political action is merely a form of expression.

THE RECEIVER.—But under Socialism every one will have to work: Will not that bring everybody down to the same level?

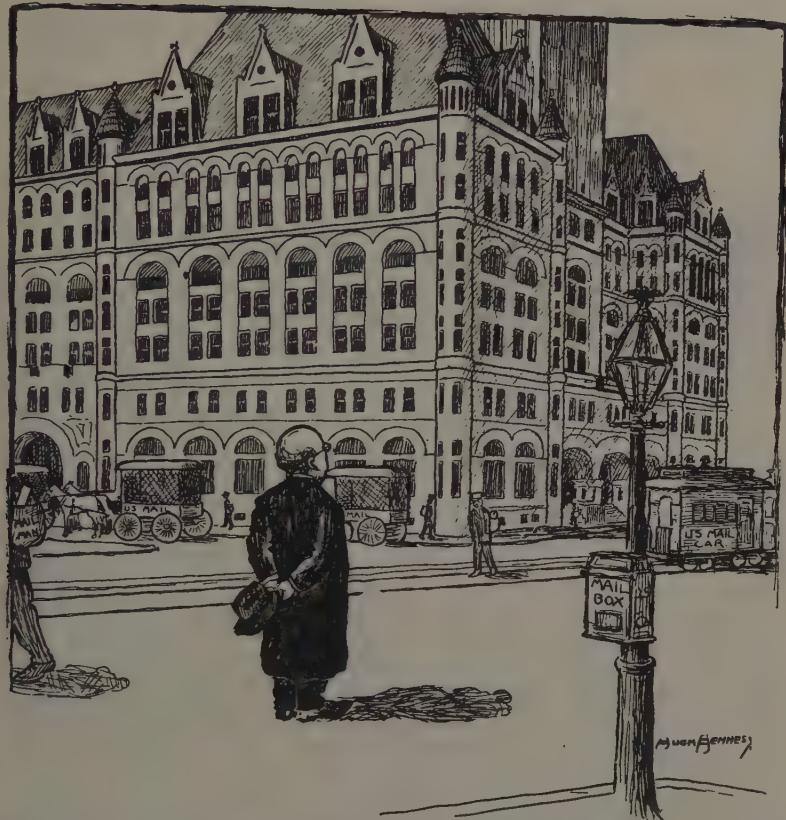
THE TRANSMITTER.—Up toward the same level, my dear. Eliminating useless labor and parasitic idleness, wealth will increase at a rate undreamed of under the present wasteful capitalist system: And Socialism will generously reward a Rockefeller for his administrative ability, as it will an Edison for his invention, or a Wagner for his music; but with this allimportant difference:

SOCIALISM WILL DESTROY THE POSSIBILITY OF FORGING THAT REWARD INTO FETTERS TO ENSLAVE HIS FELLOWS.

THE RECEIVER.—Then why do these men fear Socialism?

THE TRANSMITTER.—That is merely a habit of mind. To those who worship the dead past and its institutions, live things are disquieting and therefore sinful; and Socialism is very much alive.

Francois Thane



**Mr. Gompers (contemplating the Postoffice Department). — Oh, hell,
there ain't no such thing!"**

There is a story going around of a countryman who had in some unaccountable way "got by" the dromedary until one day when he encountered one in the Zoo. He gazed at it for a long time, and then turned away with the conclusive assertion, "Oh, hell, there ain't no such animal!"

In a speech, some time ago, Mr. Gompers said that Socialism was "industrially impossible!" .

The Political Parties in the Great Russian Revolution.



T IS VERY interesting to examine all the Russian political parties, which have appeared on the scene of Russian political life, since the Revolution began. —

First of all, we must divide all these parties into two classes; those, which are connected with the people, fight for them and have put on their standard the device: "We serve the people",—and those which work for their own benefit,—making no difference, whether they fight for a more or less extended group of society, or for a whole class, provided only that their interests are opposed to those of the greatest part of the Russian people.

From this standpoint we must distinguish the revolutionary parties from all the others, or—what will be the same thing—the democratic parties from the non-democratic ones.

In the former we include all the proletarian and, to some extent, the little-bourgeois parties; in the latter—all the bourgeois parties of traders, manufacturers,—capitalists, land-owners,—briefly, all the owners and those which are directly or indirectly interested in preserving the bourgeois institution of private ownership.

Among the revolutionary parties we shall name in the first place, naturally, "The Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party," and afterwards—the party of the peasant-laborers and workers, the so called "Social-Revolutionary Party" and the party, which is very close to the latter in its ideals and program, "The Labor Party", which consists partly of peasants and partly of that wing of the intellectuals, which is devoted to their interests. All these parties are revolutionary and democratic, putting forward, as their highest aim, service to the people. These, however, are only the chief revolutionary parties. There are in Russia, besides, some others, which are either a part of one of them, as, for instance, all the different national sections of the chief Russian party, or which share nearly the same program and tactics, but differ by some local reasons from the main revolutionary parties.—

Among the Russian political parties,—the revolutionary as well as the bourgeois,—the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party is the largest and the best organized. The theoretical basis of this party is the same, which animates the International Social-Democracy, that is the scientific revolutionary Marxism. The Russian Social-Democracy works among the laborers and, partly, among the little-bourgeoisie,—among the intellectuals and the peasant-workers; besides, it works among the army, revolutionizing the soldiers.

The program of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party consists of two chief-divisions. The first one is the so-called "Program-Maximum", which requires the socialization, that is the common ownership of all the means of production. Of course, this is the fundamental aim of the International Revolutionary Social-Democracy. But, in order to accomplish it, all Socialistic Parties in every land first of all must clear the field for the battle for Socialism. This, indeed, is the first task of the Russian revolutionaries. Therefore, along with its demands for Socialism the Russian Social-Democracy puts out its "Program-Minimum", which is defined by the present needs of the Russian people and corresponds with the immediate demands of the Socialists in all lands, modified by the conditions peculiar to each. The main points of this "Program-Minimum" contain the demand for the freedom of the people from economic shackles and political slavery. Accordingly the Russian Social-Democracy claims for the laborers an improvement in the conditions of their work, an eight-hour workday, work for the unemployed, a state-insurance, liberty of strikes and organizations, and so on; for the peasants it demands land, all the land, which means the confiscation of all the land, owned by private individuals, the government, church, monastery, even including that owned by the tzar.

Concerning its political program, it calls upon the people to throw down despotism and even the monarchy itself, and to put in its place the democratic republic with full freedom and liberty for all the people, with autonomy and selfgovernment for the Russian provinces. These are the chief points of its platform. Of course, there are many details, but this is no place to speak of them, and, first of all, they would be, perhaps, not so easy for foreigners to understand, because one must be closely acquainted with the Russian political situation, in order to know more about the other points of its program.—

Now—about the tactics.

The tactics of every political party are always determined

by the conditions of the political life, by the form of government, by the degree of political consciousness of the people and, first of all, by the social situation of that social group or class, which this party represents. When the program of a party is its interior substance, its policy defines the manner of accomplishing the aim of the party. Therefore the tactics of every party are changeable according to the social and political conditions, whilst the program is always more stable, more steadfast.

Of course, though the tactics very often become changed, depending upon the demand of the immediate need,—the spirit of the tactics, their general character remains the same, is always unchangeable. Far from the compromises of the liberal bourgeois parties, free from utopian ideas and irresoluteness, peculiar to the radical and revolutionary parties of the little-bourgeoisie, the Russian Social-Democracy, like that of all other lands, carries out its program with directness and resoluteness, always faithful to the interests of the proletariat.

The way this party works is to accept no agreement nor settlement with the ruling power nor compromises with the bourgeoisie. The Russian Social-Democracy does not believe either in the utopian methods of combatting by plotting against the tsar or government, or in the heroic stepping out of single persons and groups with terroristic attempts.

Its tactics, its methods consist in the moving of masses, and, therefore the Russian Social-Democracy, first of all organizes the workmen, wakening in them their political and class consciousness and calling them to the fight with the despotism of the government and of the ruling classes. "The business of freeing the workers is their own business",—said Marx. Only the general attack of organized people, armed with the revolutionary consciousness will be able to break down the tsar's despotism. Therefore the most important work in Russia now consists in the organization and political education of democratic masses.

Social-Democracy joins under its standard, only that part of the people, who are interested to go with it to the very end, even to the barricades and the armed insurrection. In contemporary society, however, the working class is the most revolutionary.

"The workingmen have nothing to lose, but their chains, but they have the world to gain",—said Marx. This is the reason why the working class is the most revolutionary: it is the last and the lowest class of our society, and therefore, protesting against the exploitation of workers, it protests, at the same time, against every exploitation; freeing the laborers,

the working class at the same time will free the whole of mankind.

If this be true of the proletariat in general, it is true of the Russian proletariat. Therefore the representative of the more conscious part of the Russian workmen, the Russian Social-Democracy, fighting for proletarians, fight for all Russian people.

The Russian Social-Democracy carries on a slow and persevering work. It must fight at the same time with two enemies: with the despotic government and with the rapacious Russian bourgeoisie. However, we are sure, that the victory will be for the proletariat. It has already torn from its adversaries not a few important cessions. Nobody will say, that these victories are won by the bows of the liberals before the tsar and his ministers. It is evident to everybody, who knows the history of the last three years of Russia, that every victory came to us immediately after a strong movement of workmen and because of their strength and directness. Not the fine speeches of the liberals, not their submissive solicitations before the power, and not the bombs and shots of single revolutionaries have gained for Russia the political victories. Only the unanimous will of the proletariat could dictate to the ruling classes and to the tsar its claims, and only before the organized power of the conscious democratic masses, because of their unanimous stepping out, the tsar's government was obliged to go out to the cessions.

The movement of the workers in Baku (in December 1904), the big movement of workers in Petersbourg the 22nd of January 1905), the strikes in January and February 1905 on the railroads and the insurrection in the army in Rostov-na-Donu, in Odessa, in Revel (during the Summer of 1905) have wrested from the goverment the tsar's ordinance concerning the representation of the people.

However the people were not satisfied with such a representation: the tsar's ordinance had fixed only a consultant Duma without any right of decision; and therefore the proletariat and all the democratic masses protested against such a representation. A new attack of the organized people has torn from the tsar a new victory. The university students and those of all the highest schools, acting upon the advice of Social-Democracy, and under its direction, pronounced a general strike of all the students until the government should give up its power to the people.

The doors of the universities were opened to the large meetings of workmen and, generally, of the masses of people. The free voice of revolutionaries sounded now in all the cities

and even in the villages. The people awakened, aroused and with a new force rushed upon their enemy. A new general strike of all the workmen in the whole of immense Russia, a strike on the railroads, in the factories, in the shops, in business, a new pressure of the organized proletarian power,—and the government gave up: the tsar pronounced his famous manifesto of the 30th of October (1905) concerning the extension of the rights of Douma, which now became even legislative. At the same time the tsar promised in his manifesto all kinds of liberties. But the proletariat knows very well the real price of the promises of the bloody tsar and of his cruel government. Besides, although Duma became legislative, the right of suffrage remained very limited. Two months later the Russian people organized themselves, and then, when the clever government took back all the liberties; when it began to suppress the democratic and revolutionary papers, to arrest the greatest revolutionaries and leaders of the proletariat,—the Social-Democracy together with the other revolutionary parties called upon the people to step out again with a new force against their oppressors.

In the whole of Russia began a new general strike. At this time, however, the government was prepared for the new trouble. It opposed to the strikers all the complex apparatus of the despotic oppression: soldiers, cosacks, gendarmes and police. But not all the soldiers remained loyal to the government; here and there burst out disorders even in the army itself. Many regiments didn't want to obey their chiefs and refused to struggle against the people. Still the government bent its last efforts to destroy the riots of revolutionaries. There was not any other issue for the government: either to conquer, or to be conquered,—and the government moved its troops against the people.

Then the Social-Democracy in an agreement with all the other revolutionary parties and organizations, sent out the watchword: "The armed insurrection for the Reconstructive Convention."—All, to whom liberty was dear, went out on the streets: workmen, peasants, students,—even women and youths. The month of December (1905) in many cities of Russia, and especially in Moscow, was the month of general pressure. Nine days lasted the armed insurrection in Moscow; for nine days the government regiments failed to destroy the barricades of the revolutionaries; during nine days the revolutionary masses day and night did not cease to attack their enemy. Many soldiers, even large parts of regiments, passed over to the side of the revolutionaries. But

when on the ninth day the government of Moscow was reenforced by the new troops, which came from St. Petersbourg, the armed insurrection was suppressed.

Still even this defeat was a victory: the frightened autocracy hastened to pronounce a new law of suffrage, which greatly enlarged the number of electors. Besides, along with it the Tzar gave out a new manifesto, in which he fixed the day of the election of the Duma, as well as the day of its opening, fulfilling in this way the most important part of his promises of October.

Thus we see that every victory for the proletariat is the direct result of its organized stepping out, of its conscious movement.

The Russian-Social-Democracy, like every Social-Democracy, has as the basis of its teaching the materialistic theory.—Not the abstract ideas of equality, liberty and brotherhood, not the vain desires, grounded on the blind faith in future happiness, form the substances of the Social-Democracy theory. Just the opposite: objective study proves, that independent of our will, and even in spite of it, in social life uninterruptedly proceed changes, evoked by certain economic reasons. Every form of social production creates within itself a new, higher degree of social order, a higher form of social production.—Thus the primitive communism gradually grew into the patriarchal organization of society. Hence developed ancient slavery, on the ruins of which blossomed the feudal society. When Feudalism became a barrier to further development of social production, the foundation of Feudalism fell to pieces, and instead of the feudal organization grew the bourgeois society. Slowly and invisibly the bourgeois society developed. The little-bourgeois society enlarged and strengthened, and, after the period of primitive accumulation of wealth, opened the field for the mercantile capital. The mercantile capital expelled the little-bourgeois form of society, but in the same way, after its development, it was itself replaced by productive capitalism: first, by the form of manufacture-production, and then—by the introduction of machinery.

Thus, we see that the contemporary bourgeois world has not existed always, that it is a result of a long process of economic changes, and that the basis of these changes is bound up in the conditions of production.

The capitalistic form of social production, as every other so far, grows, develops and prepares the ground for the next, higher form of production, but it will come itself, independent of our will. The organized society can only quicken or delay

its appearance; however neither kings, nor capitalists can resist the steadfast law of economic and historical progress. Capitalism digs a grave for itself, on the one hand enlarging the masses of proletariat and thus producing paupers; and on the other—concentrating capital. Therefore the opposition of the class-interests incessantly grows,—and the abyss between the bourgeois class and proletariat continually widens. When this antagonism reaches its highest point, when almost all the capital is monopolized by a few, and all the rest of the people become pauperized,—then the Socialistic Revolution will burst forth.

This is more apparent, because the capitalists themselves a long period before will suffer from the dreadful economic crisis: on account of the poverty of the proletarian masses, the exterior as well as the interior market will become more and more limited, and production will begin to fail. The magnificent wealth of the whole world will remain unused. Then will come the time of the new form of production. The proletariat, organized by the socialists into a political power, will expropriate from the bourgeois expropriators all the means of social production: manufactories, shops, mines, stores, land, as well as the railroads, steam-navigation, postal-service, telegraphs, telephones; briefly,—all means of production, as well as those of communication and transportation, will become socialized, that means, will belong to all the people. The bourgeois hypocrites like to speak about Socialism, overturning our theory. They babble every possible absurdity, assuring everybody, that we mean to divide all the wealth among all the people. That is a lie.

This is the theory of the International Socialism, shared by the Russian Social-Democracy, and this very theory separates it from all other Russian political parties. The other above mentioned revolutionary and democratic parties are not so straightforward and consequential. They are more utopian, more or less liable to compromises, believing more in the heroic stepping out of individuals, than in the strong movement of the conscious masses.

We must acknowledge, that even these parties of little-bourgeoisie and peasants even now are radical enough: they fight, as well as we for the republic constitution. However, we can be sure, that the first large cessions will eliminate the little-bourgeoisie from the Revolution, and it is very well understood: peasants, tradespeople, clerks and so on,—are not so conscious as workmen, and therefore they can be more easily pacified. When their needs are only partly satisfied, they will become interested even in the contre-revolution,—

in order not to lose their goods, their land, their little possessions. The proletarian psychology is strange to them. Along with the private ownership they are used to caring only for their own interests, when laborers, fighting for themselves, fight for all mankind, as their freedom is only the result of the freedom of the whole of mankind from every exploitation and oppression. The revolutionary little-bourgeois parties in Russia now are even socialistic, but it is because now the little-bourgeois people in Russia have too little ownership, and because they are very limited in their rights. Of course, a little extension of their rights, a little increase in their property will make them conservative enough, for the private ownership and socialistic ideals cannot be reconciled.

At the opposite pole are found all the bourgeois parties,—liberals, as well as conservative and reactionary. Though there is, naturally, a great difference among all these bourgeois parties, we can put all of them, as a whole, in opposition to all the revolutionary, democratic parties, for the bourgeoisie, even the most radical part of it, always and everywhere have fought, are now fighting and will fight against democracy, and especially against Socialism. All bourgeois parties, first of all, desire a strong power, which shall be able to guard their private ownership from the revolutionary attempts, to defend with the help of all the clever apparatus of the contemporary state their private interests, opposed to those of the democratic masses.

This is the connecting link between all the bourgeois parties. Of course, the different bourgeois parties are fighting amongst themselves, for their interests are very often different: the landowners are opposed to the productive bourgeoisie; the interests of the great capitalists are other than those of the little ones, and so on. Therefore among the bourgeoisie itself there are different parties, which pursue different aims.

The productive bourgeoisie of the big capitalists together with their hired servants—the intellectuals—form the liberal and radical parties, the so-called “People's Liberty Party”, “Democratic Reform Party”, “Pacific Renewal Party”, etc. All these parties are now progressive. However, one must realize, that their programs promise always more, than they are willing and able to accomplish.

These parties hesitate between the constitutional monarchy and the bourgeois republic. They fight only for the primitive elements of liberty in order to acquire favorable conditions for the development of bourgeois production. Along with it they try to moderate the demands of the work-

ing class, as they dread every movement of the democratic masses. Their program on the one hand claims some liberal reforms for themselves, and on the other—defends them from all the democratic attempts of peasants and workmen.

Their policy consists in solicitations, in loyal petitions and, sometimes, in a very moderate and careful opposition.—

The conservative party is represented by "The League of the 30th of October", which practically supports the Tzar's government and fights against even liberal reforms. This "League" appeared after the Tzar's manifesto of the 30th of October, 1905, and its substance was taken to be a platform of this political party. However even these very moderate promises of the Tzar's manifesto seemed to the big capitalists and landowners to be too radical. Every new reactionary attack of the government meets their approbation. "The League of the 30th of October" even a long time ago was called by the progressive part of Russian citizens "the party of the very last communication of the government," for it approves even such acts of the government, which are directly opposed to the famous manifesto. This "League" wants a very moderate constitution with a representation only of their class, that is with a very limited right of votes only for the big capitalists and landowners.—Therefore the government knew very well, what it intended to do, limiting by the Tzar's proclamation of the 16th of June (1907),—in spite of the official law,—the rights of votes.

The extreme right of the Russian political parties is the so-called "League of the Russian People". We call them "the black hundreds". They fight for the church and for the Tzar. They are, of course, reactionary, for they fight against the constitution, requiring the old unlimited power of the Tzar's autocracy. This party is supported by the highest dignitaries, by the courtiers and by the Tzar himself. Their policy corresponds to their "lofty" program: they kill Jews, students, intellectuals; they make "pogroms" and troubles for the revolutionary and even oppositionary parties.—

This is the general characterization of contemporary Russian political parties.

Of course, all political life is complicated, and in the stormy time of Revolution all the parties, their programs, their policies, their mutual relations, their aims are too compound, too complex, too intricate for characterizing them in a short article, and especially, when the readers, as foreigners, have not any idea about this question. Therefore there are illuminated only the most important features of the contemporary Russian political parties.

In order to better understand the substance of those political parties, one must remember, that political movement starts not because of some private will of the individuals or even of some social groups or organizations, but because of some objective economic reasons. These economic causes produce changes in every social life, and on the ground of this objective progress burst out a political war between the different parts of society,—between those, who are selfishly interested in preserving the old form of production and those, who, following the progress of mankind, fight for the new, higher form of social organization, in order to secure for the majority better, more favorable conditions of existence; and between those two camps of strugglers cowardly run the liberal accorders, trying to reconcile both enemies,—in order to take from each an advantage for themselves, though with evident harm to the large democratic masses.

In Russia now growing capitalism awakens the workers, who can no longer exist under the despotic power of the autocracy. Peasants, revolutionized by the working class, are fighting for their existence; they can exist no longer under the exploiting power of the landowners. Even the productive bourgeoisie needs some important changes in the political life, for the old forms became too restricted for developed capitalism.

Only the big landowners are interested in preserving the old power, as the feudal autocracy corresponds to their feudal interests of the landowners.

Hence—the bloody struggle between the partisans of autocracy and those of liberty,—and between them are fluttering the bourgeois liberals, attempting to calm the fighters with their half-way measures of reform, more useful, of course, for them than for the others.

Thus we see that the political struggle produces political parties, every one of which represents the interests of that particular part of society, of that class, which is organized in this party. Economic interest is the leading power of every political party. Yet Marx said, that every political struggle is an economic struggle, and the Great Russian Revolution gives us now the wise practical example as a proof of this scientific truth.

What is the real cause of the Great Russian Revolution?

The administration and its agents assure us, that all the revolts are made by the "criminal" agitators. Everybody understands, however, the falsity of such a declaration. In fact, the true reason for the revolts is the government's despotism, against which all nationalities, which inhabit

Russia, have protested, do protest, and will protest. This despotism has led all the Russian people to beggary, ignorance and lawlessness, although Russia is a very large and rich country with an industrious and diligent population.—The Tzar, dignitaries, ministers, governors,—briefly, all the minions and tyrants tear Russia to pieces: they hang, shoot down, destroy and kill; they exile and put into prisons and fortresses hundreds of thousands; they coerce and persecute, torture and slay the best people of the country, even women, young girls, and children; they oppress all the country, placing it under martial law, with bayonet and scourge; they violate the people and ruin the land, like drunken soldiers in the conquered camp of the enemy.....

At present the Russian people are silent as to all this violence and crime; but this silence is only the calm before the storm. The people are tired of the Tzar's bloodshed, and now seem humble; it is quiet now, organizing its own powers, in order so much the better to disperse its sworn enemy at a future more favorable time. The people and the government are evidently, two irreconcilable enemies. At present the Russian people collect their forces, slowly prepare themselves, and then—the "dead" Revolution will be revived with doubled and trebled strength; the revolting people will annihilate the old authority of violence and despotism.

When the Russian people fought against the government, when they revolted and resisted, they acted so not only for abstract ideas of right and justice, and not only for moral reasons, but, first of all, in order to gain for themselves the necessary conditions of life and future development. This great country suffocates in the musty atmosphere of despotism. The workmen demand an improvement of the conditions of their work; the unemployed claim work; the peasants want land; the bourgeoisie need a large and rich interior market; and all the people need liberty, which will give them the power to direct their own fate; this liberty will bring to all the people juster courts, better laws and general education.

Jews demand equality; Poland, the Caucasus, the Baltic provinces and Finland want autonomy, and all nationalities need the opportunity of self-government.

Thus we see that the Russian Revolution has very deep and strong roots, and until all these needs are satisfied, the war between the people and the Tzar will continue. The Russian people, indeed know, how to die fighting for liberty.....

Abstract ideas may be forgotten; moral reasons may be

rejected. But the needs of subsistence can be neither forgotten, nor rejected. If this be so, the Russian Revolution is living.

It is difficult to foretell, when and how the Russian people will obtain liberty. All the social, economic and political conditions are too complex, too intricate for us to decide such a question. But we can with assurance say, that Russia will soon be free. Its people love and value liberty too highly, the Russian proletariat is too intelligent to bear the ignominious slavery of the bloody Tzar. First of all, without freedom, without rights, without selfgovernment Russia can exist no longer. The despotic power rests on only a hundred and thirty six thousand landowners, who are interested in the old order, while all the inhabitants of Russia, who number a hundred fifty millions, can not live without land, work, bread and liberty. It is true, that not all the people understand their condition; it is true, that even among the village people, the peasants and some of the workmen there are partisans of the old regime. But it is so not because the old authority can satisfy them, but only because of their ignorance and superstition.

The revolutionaries tear down the old idols and carry to their country light and happiness. It may be, the day of Russian liberty is nearer even than the revolutionaries themselves imagine....

M. VERUS.

Out of the Dump.

VII.

Thanksgiving Day.



URING the next month Mr. Lee came down to the office of the Northwestern Charity Bureau oftener than usual, and he always made occasion to come up to the wardrobe rooms. He would sit around asking questions and offering suggestions and watching me wait on my old friends or acquaintances from The Dump or the Alley till he got on

my nerves.

"He is studying the Lower Element," I said to myself. "Perhaps he means to break into print and write a book about the way we live." And it made me so vexed that I longed to give him something unique to say about us. I wasn't always polite, but a girl who works for her living does not dare to be altogether rude to a young man who is owner of the luxurious Cleveland House and next thing to a millionaire.

But I could be doubly kind to the unfortunate folks I had long known in the shadow of the Dump, saying in every way, save words, "These are the conditions to which you and your rich and idle friends have brought the poor who work." I felt that men like Mr. Lee were a large factor in producing the misery I saw every day and I wanted him to blush for every shameful thing he saw among us.

Old Granny Nome came in to patronize a rummage sale. She was looking for a bargain in boys' shoes for one of the neighbor's children. Her breath, as usual, smelled strongly of gin, but I was more than cordial.

"Always trying to help somebody; aren't you, Granny?" I said loud enough for Mr. Lee to hear. "You're not one of the people who think advice and encouragement are enough for poor folks; are you?"

Mrs. Nome chuckled gleefully and poked me playfully in the side.

"It's the folks whose fathers leave them heaps of money", I continued, "the folks who never have to stand on their own legs, who are always so free with moral talk to the hungry ones!"

Granny laughed boisterously again. "Take keer of the stummicks, sez I," she said, "en the morals'll take keer o' themselves."

This was the best thing I had ever heard Granny say and I glanced around to see if Mr. Lee was close enough to hear. He was still sitting at the counter apparently looking over some papers.

"Yes, Granny," I added, "people whose fathers leave money don't steal coats, nor food nor money. Nobody would steal if he had things."

At this time if Mr. Lee had debated on any subject with old Granny Nome or my brother Bob, who was still serving time in the House of Correction, he would have lasted about ten minutes. It seemed hard for him to talk about **FACTS**. He was always dwelling upon abstractions.

But he kept on coming to the office for one cause or another and I continued to turn my rude side toward him. Always I allied myself with the poor applicants, which is not the usual way with charity workers. Perhaps in time we would understand something of their sufferings.

"You don't like me very well. Do you, Miss Piper?" he asked one morning.

I laughed scornfully. "It takes folks like us; Granny Nome, and my brother Bob and Mr. Wineshevsky, to make those like you," I said. "You can't expect the victim to love the judge who convicts him. There are the workers on one side and the people who work them, on the other. It's too big a bridge for me to cross."

"What would YOU do if your father had left you a great deal of money?" he asked.

"O I'd pay the judge who sentenced my brother, Bob, enough money to let him out of the House of Correction," I replied, "I hadn't thought much about it."

I was too busy to talk longer for November was unusually cold that year and already the number of applicants for aid had doubled.

It was only a few days before Thanksgiving and I had written Bob I would be out to see him on that day. But Mrs. Murphy told me visitors were not allowed on holidays, and Mrs. Murphy had had experience in the ways of penal institutions. So I sent Bob a great bundle of old magazines and a long letter to cheer him up, although I was miserably blue myself. It seemed terrible for Bob to have to spend Thanksgiving in a cell.

I had no heart to plan an outing for myself but Sam and Maggie would be content with nothing less than a stuffed

chicken with cranberry sauce. And I promised to take them to the Five Cent Theatre in the afternoon.

Mr. Pythias gave us all a day off, although he, himself, was on hand at the office of the Charity Organization to look after any urgent cases of need that might turn up.

The sky was grey on Thanksgiving morning, and I began by wishing the day were over. For holidays are the saddest times in the year to lonely or hungry folks. But if I could not enjoy myself, I could, at least, accomplish something, so I sent the children out to the grocer's for a treat, rolled up my sleeves and started to clean up.

I had swept and dusted the two little rooms and was just putting the stuffed chicken into Mrs. Murphy's oven (we had invited her to dine with us to pay for the use of it), when I heard a whistle from somewhere that sounded just like the shrill one nobody but Bob had ever used. I sat down very limp on the floor, when it came again, saying as plain and clear as words,

"Where the dickens are you?" which Bob said it meant.

I looked at Mrs. Murphy.

"Sounds like Bob; doesn't it?" and then fell pell mell down the rickety old stairs and out on to the street with my heart pounding like an engine.

I saw him turning the corner, my dear old Bob! His cap was on the side of his head in the same old angle and his hands were in his pockets, and there was somebody with him. I couldn't make clear. I only knew it was my precious Bobbie coming home and I ran down the street with my arms outstretched.

Bob tried to look stolid but his face worked and his lips quivered and he batted his eyes very fast to keep back the tears. And then we just stood there a few minutes holding each other close, unable to speak one word.

Bob was the first to find his voice again. He pulled me around and said huskily,

"It was Mr. Lee who got me out."

Then I saw Mr. Lee a few steps in the rear. His face was the color of a ripe tomato. I had never seen him look so uncomfortable as when I discovered him in this kind act.

"YOU!" I said in amazement. "How did YOU do it?"

"The judge was a friend of my father's... I was named for him, you know," he began as though he were giving testimony against himself.

"I'm so glad. I don't know how to thank you." And my eyes filled foolishly again.

"There's nothing in the world that COULD be half so good as this."

We all went down to the basement to the little rooms we called Home and for an hour or two there was so much happiness to the square inch that everybody acted light-headed.

Fortunately Mrs. Murphy kept an eye on the chicken, and while I hustled around like a rudderless yawl, set the table for dinner, using her own china to eke out all deficiencies. Fortunately I recovered sufficiently to bribe Sam and Maggie in advance to stop at a leg of chicken apiece, in order that Bob and Mr. Lee might glut themselves in honor of the occasion. In my joy I forgot how very rich Mr. Lee was and, that there were no napkins for the table. He seemed only a very kind friend.

When he had finished, Bob pushed his chair away from the table and beamed upon us all.

"I'm so happy. You CAN'T know how good it is to be here," he said. "But there's something I learned out there from my cell-mate, a little Jew by the name of Krohn, that's the best dope I've heard yet.

I'd got to thinking, Mr. Lee," he continued, "that things would always have to be just about as they are now and that made me desperate. Everything I tried to do seemed like pouring water into a sieve. I couldn't get anywhere.

It takes poor wretches like us, clinging on to the edge of life, to make the millionaires, and I hated the swell guys and the hard struggle so much that I thought I'd try to cop off a little of the Cream of things.

You see I thought it was all YOUR fault, or the fault of rich men like you, but old Krohn put me wise to the real situation. If anybody's to blame it's us mutts that sit around whining instead of going out to try to get what we want. Krohn gave me hope of a way out for us Dump rats.

Hope! And the other word for it, Betty, is Socialism!" Bob's lips quivered and he paused for a moment and then continued.

"I don't suppose it is easy for you to understand, Mr. Lee," said Bob, "how I feel about this any more than I would know how to act if I were put out tomorrow to manage a million dollar estate. You've never known what it is to wonder where your next meal is coming from, or where you'll sleep at night. And I guess it's a safe bet that you've never worked nine or ten hours a day month after month getting

farther behind every week, like the guy who climbed forward one step and slipped back TWO every time.

"I'll tell you," said Bob, "that's the kind of life that takes the heart right out of a boy, and that's what makes many of us willing to take mighty long chances on getting a piece of easy money. They'll tell you that 'a FLOP in jail can't be much worse than NO flop outside'."

Mr. Lee's face flushed again and he said,

"It is true, I have never lived that kind of a life nor earned any money. But now that I have it, I will be glad to give you a better chance."

"Yes," Bob said, in answer to my look of inquiry, "Mr. Lee told the judge he had a job for me, so that's settled. I will not have to waste time hunting for a Meal Ticket and I can begin the things I want to do right away."

Here Bob pulled a little red paper-covered book from his pocket and held it up so we could read the title. It was *Value, Price and Profit*, by Karl Marx.

"This book is full of the real dope," Bob said. "It will teach a workingman more in a week than he learned in his whole life about HOW HE does the work and the boss gets all the VELVET."

"Perhaps Mr. Lee does not know what you mean by Velvet, Bob," I began, but Bob interrupted.

"Velvet is something you get for NOTHING, winnings in a gambling game, a stolen pocket-book, or PLAIN PROFITS."

"I understand," Mr. Lee replied. "You would call the money my father left me 'Velvet'. It is something I got without making any return."

Bob nodded. "Anybody can see," he continued, "that if every workman got the value of the article he made there could be no profits or rake-off left for anybody who did NOT work.

It's a case of the bosses against the workmen. The more profits the bosses make, the less there is left for the men; and the more the men get in wages the lower become the profits of the bosses. That's where the 'Identity (?) of interest' between the capitalist and the laborer does NOT come in.

"My idea is," continued Bob, "that if the workingmen knew about these things, it would not take them long to wise up to their interests and they'd get together and run things for themselves instead of for a lot of do-nothings.

I mean to study Marx and the works of other socialist

writers and when I am sure I have the right dope, I'll start handing it out to the working class."

Then Bob began to hunt for his hat. "I promised old Krohn," he said, "that I would celebrate on the day I got out of the House of Correction, by hunting up a socialist and joining a Local. And he did.

MARY E. MARCY.

Sunrise.

BY TOM SELBY.

It is high time to awaken out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.—Romans xiii, 11.

It is time to awaken from sleep;
For the day of salvation is near;
And the enemy, stricken with fear,
Cannot longer the battlements keep.

Let the pulse of the proletaire leap
To the shibboleth, confident, clear:
"It is time to awaken from sleep,
For the day of salvation is near!"

Awaken! Triumphant sweep
On to victory! Be of good cheer;
For the harvest is full in the ear,
It is ripe for the workers to reap.
For the day of salvation is near,—
It is time to awaken from sleep!

Some Notes on a Weissmann Lecture.



COPY of the Arthur Morrow Lewis lectures entitled, "Evolution, Social and Organic," has just come to my notice. It is a most laudable and successful effort to show the harmony which exists between modern science and revolutionary Socialism, besides being a labor-saving epitome of some of the most important scientific thought.

But we may be allowed a few critical notes on the lecture on "Weismann's Theory of Heredity." In this lecture there appears a decided bias in favor of Weismannism, and apparently for no other reason than that the Weisman theory seems to favor Socialism.

In the first place, we are told that Weismann "totally and indisputably" overthrew the idea that death "is essential to the very nature of life itself." And how is Weismann supposed to have done this? By proving that among the one-celled organisms reproduction takes place by a division of the organism into two equal parts; and then, because nothing is left of the parent in this production of two children, we are to believe that the parent individual has not died. This looks very much like a difference without a distinction. The reproduction of the one-celled animal may be held to be essentially the same as the reproduction of the multicellular animal. To be sure, the reproduction of the latter may take place in a manner different from the reproduction of the former, but in both cases the individual, by giving up either all or a small part of itself, enters into the continued life of its race; in the case of the amoeba all of its substance is given up for the young and in the case of any of the higher organisms only a fraction of the body substance is given for the same purpose. Weismann is quoted as saying "that we cannot speak of natural death among unicellular animals, for their growth has no termination which is comparable with death." But that depends upon what we call death. That depends upon whether we consider the human life's end or the end of the individual amoeba as the truly standard form of death. Speaking of the one-celled organisms, Weismann says that the two equal parts into which one of these creatures divides have "their growth."

Thus he admits for the new one-celled individuals a period of immaturity or youth, which certainly distinguishes them from the full-grown parent individual. The fact that the organism gives up all of itself for the formation of two new individuals does not countenance the view that the parent cell can divide itself into two and still be one, any more than that the human parent and its offspring can be regarded as one and the same individual. The fact that in one case the parent enters wholly into its offspring and in the other only fractionally does not identify the individualities of parent and children in either case. And, admitting that these individualities are not the same, how are we warranted in saying that in the case of the amoeba the parent did not die a "natural death" simply because its children each took half of it at their birth? Because the amoeba's "natural death" is different in time and circumstances from our own is no reason why it isn't a natural organic death for the parent amoeba. And the peculiar manner of the unicellular animal's reproduction gives it no "capability of living on indefinitely," except in the sense that it transmits itself to its posterity, just as the human parent does. Whether the individual is divided by the reproductive process without a remainder, as in the case of the amoeba, or with a big remainder which lives on, as in the human animal, gives no warrant in either case for speaking of the parents as "living on indefinitely" as individuals. And in a more remote sense, even the racial life in which organisms get a kind of indefinitely prolonged existence, must come to an end. For even if a race escapes other possible ways of becoming extinct, it cannot escape the ultimate extinction brought on by the inevitable exhaustion of the sun's light and heat, when the solar system shall lapse from evolution to dissolution.

Next, we cannot see why Weismann's germ-plasm theory, or Pamnixia, should be presented to the proletariat as favoring Socialism. At most, Pamnixia, with its impossible theory of determinants, is a mere speculation. In the end it presupposes that the reproductive elements are somehow shut away from the influence of the rest of the body and its changes, and this in spite of the fact that those same elements are conceded to be supplied with the same nourishment that the rest of the body receives through the blood. This is on a par with the people who claim they have a brain area where evolution does not apply and where they foster a religious ideology as Weismann fosters its germ-plasm.

Coming to the question of the "inheritance or noninherit-

ance of acquired characters," over which the "fiercest fight" was made, Lewis starts by saying: "Herbert Spencer cited the case of the supposed degeneration of the little toe in civilized man as a result of the shoe-wearing habit. This it was urged could only have occurred through the transmission of acquired characters and not by natural selection, as this diminished toe could not be of any value in the struggle for existence. But it was shown by measuring the feet of savages who do not wear shoes, and whose ancestors never wore them, that the small toes of savages had degenerated quite as much. "Now, had Appendix B to Spencer's Principles of Biology, vol. 1, been consulted, it would have been found that Weismann got the little-toe argument from another opponent than Spencer; that is, it was not originally used by Spencer. Moreover, in the same place will be found a discussion by Spencer of the "little-toe" illustration—a discussion which, by taking into account the big toe and the mechanics of walking, helps to turn the case against Weismann."

Lewis seems to lay great stress on the difficulty the opponents of Weismann had in furnishing cases of the inheritance of mutilations. He says: "It was clearly seen that if a case of the transmission of a mutilation could be established, Weismann's theory would be thereby demolished." And then some cases are cited where opponents failed in their attempts to show a case of inherited mutilation. But the weakness of the arguments from mutilations was eventually discovered by the opponents of Weismann themselves. And when the "inheritance of functionally acquired characters" was taken as the principal ground of contention, it was well pointed out that to bring mutilations in as proof or disproof was beside the question. Thus, by falling back on the evolutionary factors of use and disuse the question finally was, are functionally acquired characters inheritable? From this standpoint the opponents of Weismann had no trouble in showing the inadequacy of natural selection to account for all the phenomena of organic evolution, and also that inheritance of functionally-acquired characters was the only reasonable explanation for a large part of the phenomena left unexplained by natural selection. If anyone wishes to look up the arguments which were developed against Weismannism along this line of functionally-acquired characters, they will find many good reasons in favor of the inheritance of such characters.—so many, in fact, as to make it seem quite incredible that the reproductive elements are kept in some tight compartment where they remain uninfluenced by the func-

tional and structural changes which go on in the rest of the body during the individual's lifetime.

It is assumed in the lecture that Weismannism favors Socialism. We cannot see how ruling out of the inheritance of the effects of use and disuse can be a point in favor of Socialism, unless it is Utopian Socialism of some sort or another. If Socialism means the abolition of wage slavery and of private ownership of socially-used property, together with the inauguration of such social readjustments as that abolition makes necessary, why should the inheritance of functionally-acquired organic modifications be an argument against such a program? Lewis says: "If it were true that the terrible results of the degrading conditions forced upon the dwellers in the slums were transmitted to their children by heredity, until in a few generations they became fixed characters, the hopes of Socialists for a regenerated society would be much more difficult to realize. In that case the unfortunate creatures would continue to act in the same discouraging way for several generations, no matter how their environment had been transformed by the corporate action of society. This much, at any rate, Weismann has done for us, he has scientifically destroyed that lie."

Inasmuch as the whole Weismannian position rests, on its positive side, on an improved speculation about the reproductive elements, and on its negative side is simply a challenge for proof that functionally-acquired characters are inherited, we fail to see how Weismann has "scientifically destroyed" any lie whatsoever. The most that has resulted from the controversy which the Weismann theory precipitated is that it forced the believers in the inheritance of functionally-acquired characters to look sharper for facts in keeping with their theory.

But speaking of the slum: The slum can hardly be thought of as producing a proper field for the proving or disproving of the inheritance of functionally-acquired characters. The slum is worse than the primitive jungle. In it natural selection reigns supreme—the weak are killed off, and the position of even the strongest is so untenable there that even they are rotted out after a few generations if they are not strong enough to get out before, and to get out by some other way than the tramp route, which is after all only a wide-spreading tentacle of the slum. Were it not for the fresh material from the outside that continually replenishes them, the slums of our great cities would soon cease to exist. They do not perpetuate themselves by their

birthrate, but by continual additions from the surplus labor army which capital and wage slavery create. People cannot be said to undergo change by inheritance of acquired characters in this hell—they simply undergo functional and structural suppression and perversion. But, even admitting an inheritance of the perverted and degenerated organisms which breed in the slums, that would only the quicker make the weakened descendants victims for the killing of natural selection. Before the perversions and degenerations induced by the conditions of the slums can become fixed through heredity, natural selection gets in its killing work, leaving mainly such constitutions as because of the recency of their advent in the slum have not had time to fix by inheritance any hopeless amount of degeneracy. For it takes a long time to fix characteristics by inheritance, a much longer time than the transient generations of the slum afford. Natural selection never permits the fixing of degeneracy, it never permits a series of organisms or a society to become fixed in the backward path—it cuts them off. Only when the tendencies of an organic or social body are predominately towards a better correspondence between it and its environment do its structures and functions tend to become fixed.

When the source of supply to the slum is cut off and the survivors have a chance to work out their destiny in a decent environment, then there will be a better opportunity to study the inheritance of functionally-acquired characters in the dwellers, not of the slums, but of what used to be or might have been the slums. But taking slum children and placing them into wholesome surroundings, where they show a capacity for becoming normal human beings, while such experiments help to create the conditions under which the question of heredity may be studied to advantage, they do not disprove the inheritance of acquired characters; they simply prove the value of a good environment. It would take some careful observations on equal numbers of slum-born children and of children born of normal parents, both classes immediately after birth being given the same decent environment, to determine that the former had not been disadvantaged by their unfortunate parentage. So far as we know such an experiment has not yet been made.

HERMAN H. MOELLERING.

What Life Means to Me.



IFE? What does life mean to me, an uncultured biped with a past of darkness and well-nigh certain evidence of a like future? Why should I be everything to myself, nothing to the surging, teeming, myriad-shaped units of existence which fill the worlds of space, and to the near, who know me best, unknown—a separate, impinging entity? Is it for me, who am no muck-raker, but more surely the muck itself—who am no social worker studying conditions in the underworld but rather a type of the underworld—is it for me to raise my voice among the shouting multitudes and tell the seeming of things to the sentient thing which is myself? And why not? Though my view be limited some things I see which no one else can ever see, since I alone am I, unique of all creation.

Mine is a world of iron. Among iron I have dwelt these many years, between high and narrow walls, knowing the four seasons only through the skylight, conscious of freedom merely as a name. Among iron I have spent troublous monotonous days — hammering, shaping, welding, wrestling always with the naked metal, always grimy and unkempt, choked by the flying dust, leered at by darting tongues of flame, deafened by the clangorous riveters and the roar of many-voiced machinery. From the iron I have squeezed food, clothing, shelter—all those necessaries which keep burning my spark of self. From me the iron has squeezed more, much more. It has knocked the light from one of my eyes. Its stubborn mass has maimed my hands, and crooked my once upright frame. Its deadly particles, filtering into my throat, have played havoc with my breathing apparatus and even now are laying the foundation of a disease which is no less than a plague. Nay, its continuous proximity has petrified my very soul. No longer is the rose a delight, the Gothic spire a sign. Beauty and romance are dead slowly, surely, implacably strangled within me by the unnatural sordidness of my life; so that the edge of my desire is blunt, the will of today is not the will of yesterday, and what might have been is swallowed up by what is.

Existence itself seems irony to me now. I set out to master the trade, but the trade mastered me. To it I am a slave, being unable to do anything else. It is all iron—everywhere—at work and between whiles and during holidays. I see it in the battleship, the locomotive, the skyscraper. And these things give me no joy, for behind their imposing bulk I see the hornyhanded millions of rough and hardy devils who grind away their lives in the narrow bondage of mines, workshops, and factories, digging; moulding; refining, forever dragging this stuff from the bowels of the earth, forever reorganizing and disorganizing, and never getting done. All of which, I am informed, represents wealth, and progress. From which I conclude that wealth must be matter out of place, and that progress is nothing more nor less than motion—in a circle, since the same round is gone through cycle after cycle without end. As to the desirability of either, let the wise answer.

Now, in greener days, I imagined life as something unfettered—free to enjoy the sight of land and sea and sky; to explore this vast and varied menagerie of other life, this bewildering museum of curious forms of matter, which is the world. In that I hoped to find some solving of my riddle, and in the game, happiness.

. Naive fool that I was. Ought I not to have perceived that expansion of mind and spirit—yes, and of body sometimes—are contingent not alone on wish and will, but also on gold; that he who has it not must pay a tithe in terms of labor for the right to enjoy the fruits of the earth; and that, while among primitive races this tithe is next to nothing, among civilized peoples it is an oppressive burden, keeping pace with so-called progress, absorbing the entire lives of millions who thus lose the end in striving to acquire the means? Above all, should I not have known that I, being born poor, had no right to expect that freedom from wear and tear which allows scope for development of the higher faculties?

But no. These truths dawned upon me later. I was told, or rather the idea was instilled, that work was eminently honorable. The hobo was hinted at as a disgrace, the moneyed man as a model. By conscientious industry at my trade, I might hope to cut coupons some day with the kind shepherds who owned the trust. Ah! Had I then known that I might with more certainty expect to be worn out before my time, and in the intervening years would be discharged again and again without apparent reason, only to be forced to wait for months sometimes for a chance to sweat

afresh at what I hated, thus preventing me from saving, and consequently always in fear either of never being able to cut away from the incubus of drudgery, or of floundering deeper in the bog of poverty—had I known these things, I say, I might have gone on one long, uncompromising strike to the end of my days. In other words, I might have become a tramp, and in so becoming concealed more virtue in my rags than is often found beneath a frock coat with a high-sounding title to back it. For be it said, that in a person of a sensitive nature, to deliberately choose to become a tramp requires a courage of no ordinary kind. It is to fly in the face of public opinion when public opinion clings to the fetish of centuries that there is something peculiarly noble and uplifting about work, no matter how degrading such "work" happens to be. It is to meet contempt with contempt against overpowering numbers, to frequent the back door and the jail, and to rub elbows with all kinds of climax and anti-climax in the omnipresent loneliness of ostracism.

Could I have weathered all this? Could I have dumped overboard all my conventional ideas and resolve to be myself through thick and thin rather than to be somebody else's attendant self and be despised for it—to be a free outcast in preference to being an outcast grubber among the iron and the muck? If so, my condition might have been better; it surely could have been no worse. Variety, at least, I should have had, with more knowledge of nature and perhaps of man; and in their wake, many and pleasing memories—the manna of old age. Instead of which I have but two or three memories, now nearly blotted out by the all-absorbing one that will be reality with me while I live: I mean the cramped precincts of my world of iron, where I am confined to the ugly sameness of repetition and the mind-blanking monotony of frowning factory walls scarcely less to be dreaded and of but little greater compass than the narrow house which each of us must one day occupy; and where, as the striding seasons pass without, I waste the days in endless caressing of bolts and embracing of steel ingots, even as in decades gone by, when the flesh was unsullied and the mind nimble and the spirit fresh and sweet as a May-morning breeze.

Escape? There is no escape. Time and circumstance have forged chains which I cannot break. Habit holds me fast. The rasping voice, the ungraceful body, the crude manners of the workshop will stick to me always. I am become an automaton, going for the most part from the dark-

ness of toil to the darkness of sleep, week in and week out, from the old year's day to New Year's day. And no matter where I go, there goes my drudgery also. If it goes not, then are the necessities of life lacking. In its midst is peril, since it kills by inches. In its absence is the peril of starvation. So that whether I be here or there, is immaterial; I am hampered in the one place as in the other. Mine is the liberty of the man bound hand and foot, and carried or allowed to roll where he lists. Surroundings may change, but the condition remains ever the same.

Yet despite all this, a transient hope sustains me now and again, seeming to draw me out of myself. At such times I forget that it is not for me to bask in the sunshine, and that I am old, fixed—a pillar of progress, though a small, unwilling and decayed one. And so dear to me are these evanescent reveries and ideas—unsubstantial shadows compared with the ironical reality which surrounds me — so sweet they are, that I cling to them foolishly, as one tries to prolong a pleasant dream. But reason drowns them soon, leaving only the barren perspective behind and before — the vanity of all my toil. Then, indeed, does life seem void of worth, so that weight of distress often impels me to drown reason in rum, the haven of refuge which civilization in her infinite wisdom has instituted for such as I, and which, like much of the bungling patchwork of this enlightened age, is but the adding of poison to poison, the engendering of one disease in the effort to kill another. For unnatural and toxic as it is, it yet serves as a lame antidote to my unnatural environment. It enables me to conjure up more or less confusedly the dream that should have been substance. It lifts the crushing load, snatches away the wearying uniformity of unwished-for actions and results, diversifies anew the stagnation of my life and lends me wings; until the old I, who longed for more light, who desired the form of an Apollo, the intellect of a Bacon, the morals of a Christ, finds itself in full possession of them, only to fall suddenly and helplessly into the abysmal hell of bitterness and remorse.

And now the question, Why the crushing load and the wearying uniformity in the first place? What crime have I committed that I should suffer this blight? Is this what I exist for—I and the millions of my kind? Is more drudgery, or starvation, all that is offered me for the drudgery I have already waded through, for the maiming of my body and the strangling of the aesthetic sense within me? Is terrestrial damnation all that our boasted Christianity can afford me?

Is niggardly charity, with a final resting place among the slag and the dross all that our much-mouthing wealth and progress can guarantee me? As a man among cave men, I might have given less and received more. I could not have received less.

Far be it from me, however, to lay the blame of my undoing upon the pioneers of advancement and the captains of industry, although I do not much admire the economics of the one, nor the hypocrisy of the other. Both have their joys and their sorrows, even as I. Very likely the former find me an ungrateful wretch because I do not raise my voice in unison with theirs to sing the paean of progress. Doubtless it is as difficult, as painful, for the latter to choose satisfactory raiment for the fluffy lapdogs of their wives, as for me to secure a gingham dress for my child—my own flesh and blood. The first remind me of duty and obligation; forgetting that duty and obligation imply benefit. The second tell me that work is both honorable and necessary, and forget that mine is not work, but the long-drawn-out, unnatural toil which fosters the eye that is vacant, and the body that seems a mockery to its creator. And both together inform me that the present is but a preface to a future of ease, when the burden shall be lifted and work shall be as play. As if, forsooth, there could be any easement of burdens in the addition of burdens; or freedom from toil in the searching of out of things to be done; or from worry in the contriving of complexities and extravagances. Cannot the mind which invents a machine for the harvesting of corn likewise invent one for the manufacturing of things worse than useless? Nay, it can and will, for artificiality breeds artificiality as surely as mosquitoes breed mosquitoes. The end is without limit, and the end is vain.

But enough. Since the wise have entangled, let them disentangle if they can. As for me, poor inefficient that I am, unfit to survive, as some would have it, I shall bear the wearisome burden until it crushes me, as it has crushed millions in the past, as it will crush countless others when this, my life, my sentient nightmare, knows itself no more. Not that there is no beauty or goodness in the world, but rather that it is beyond me. I peer into the future as into a tunnel of unknown length, dimly lighted, ever narrowing in the distance, ever with walls of the same composition. Although I see not the end, I know it. Time pushes me on. There is but one outlet — eternity. Meanwhile remain the changeless days of waiting, the drink that lends forgetfulness, the nights of dreams in awe of light.

EDLINGTON MOAT.

Gems of Unconscious Humor.



HE "Independent," a weekly magazine in New York City, published in its issue of October 15 an article from each of the seven presidential candidates, on the issues of the campaign. Eugene V. Debs easily stands head and shoulders above the others, not merely by the "tremendous earnestness" for which the editor of the Independent gives him credit, but also for his logical grasp of the real issue.

But the delightful humor of the situation is in the innocent and artless fashion in which five of the six rival candidates pledge themselves to the maintenance of property interests, while the sixth takes his stand on the "natural rights" of the eighteenth century. The following quotations are taken from the "Independent" without the change of a syllable:

Taft: The Republican party is determined that the power of the courts shall be maintained.

Bryan: The Democratic party favors economy in public expenditures and condemns the extravagance of the Republican party.

Chafin (Prohibitionist): We represent more thoroughly than any other political party the Christian conscience, the intelligence, the morality and the business interests.

Watson (People's Party): A law which makes it impossible for the citizen to earn a fair profit on his investment is unjust, and should be repealed.

Hisgen: The platform of the new party — the Independence party — founded by William Randolph Hearst and fearlessly backed by this great friend of the people, is the best Democratic document written since the Declaration of Independence.

Gilhaus: The Socialist Labor Party holds certain concrete truths — amplifications of the truths of 1776 — to be self-evident today; and it announces them plump and plain.

Socialism and Education.



EFFICIENCY is the thing——the world belongs to the efficient” says Broadbent in “John Bull’s Other Island”, and so saying he expresses the representative opinion of modern liberalism, according to which, public education has for its object the production of efficient humans. It must be noted, however, that this production of the

efficient is not regarded as a social end, but is directed solely to the formation of efficient individuals as such,—the trying out of human material so as to enable the strong to acquire greater control of their fellows—a conclusion which is sustained by the system of payment by results and competitive examinations in the country to which Mr. Broadbent belonged. This pronounced passion for efficiency also shows itself on one side as the exploitation of human energy for the benefit of those who control the great masses of wealth.

To each is held out the prospect that he may at some time achieve distinction, if he follow industriously the educational lines marked out for him, and so reach success. He can only achieve success however in terms of the society in which he finds himself, and that means, nowadays, that he must make money. That is to be efficient; all else is vanity.

Public education has arisen from the necessities of modern capitalism. The introduction of the machine industry and all the complicated ramifications of modern capitalism have made necessary the development of a proletariat capable of handling the varied machinery of modern production and distribution. Moreover the rise of democracy which is itself also a by-product of the capitalist system has brought about the modern state and by its proclamation of political equality has made some form of public education necessary.

This public education has been hailed, particularly by ourselves, as a panacea for all the public ills and the public school system has been lauded as the apex of civilization, the great intellectual discovery of modern times. The public school has come to be regarded as a factory of citizenship, so that the children are put through a series of patriotic devotions by means of a flag worship, which is, in its ultimate, the blindest of fetishism. The exigencies of modern life have

compelled the community to take upon itself the care of the educational system, with the result that the public school system is often referred to as a practical example of socialism in this country, and together with the postoffice is made to serve as a rebuke to those bold spirits who would attack the present state as purely individualistic. It may be conceded that the public school is an attempt at social work but it is at the same time a glaring example of the unsatisfactory fashion in which social work is carried on in a community which rests upon a capitalist basis. Still, poor as the work is, it is hailed as the great discovery, and no part of the administrative system of the country has received greater praise so that the inordinate adulation at the hands of the press and the platform have converted the public school into an object of affectionate veneration and the "little red schoolhouse" is frequently carried in parades like a heathen statue on a Roman holiday.

This enthusiasm for the public school is by no means confined to this country, wherever the modern system has spread its paeans are just as loudly chanted. Even as long ago as the French Directory we find the most extravagant hopes held out by the apostles of the new educational idea and Quinette indulged in speculations and prophecies as to its effect upon the national life from which even our own orators could draw inspiration.

But these material results have failed to materialize and instead we find a growing dissatisfaction with life itself, outside of the new revolutionary movement, so that the apostles of civic virtue find themselves confronted by awkward and indeed insuperable facts. As a result the public school system has been accused of having failed to produce the effects expected of it and which, as a matter of fact, it never could have accomplished, for had it been divinely instituted and carried on by angels, it could not have availed against the corruption and the social disintegration inherent in the very nature of the capitalist system.

The system cannot be escaped. Society is not constructed on the compartment plan. It is an organism, and the disease from which it suffers is an organic disease proceeding from and inherent in the system, not to be produced by the public school and not to be laid at the door of any institution in particular. No reasonable individual can blame the public school, yet, such is the disinclination of men to seek the fundamental causes of social phenomena, that the public school is made to bear an undeserved amount of abuse for evils which it has had no hand in producing. Still there

cannot be the least doubt that the actual workings of the public school system have caused the most profound feelings of disappointment even among those ardent democrats who have made an evangel of public education while the snobocracy is by no means sparing in abuse and denunciation of it.

So that there is necessarily somewhat of a reaction against the old enthusiasm for the public school and of this, advantage is being taken to limit the scope of public instruction and to reduce the amounts of public expenditure devoted to public education.

Thus, Comptroller Grant of New York has stated, as his opinion, that a popular system of education should be limited to sending from the elementary school "Graduates having a practical knowledge and habitual correct use of the English language together with such knowledge of mathematics, history and geography as may reasonably be expected.

There can be no knowledge, training or accomplishment, however desirable of sufficient relative importance to warrant its acquirement in the public schools at the expense of what is called a common school education." This opinion is hailed with great delight by the wealthy and snobbish class of which Whitelaw Reid is an excellent representative. He has not hesitated to put himself on record as favoring this view of public education and his approval may be taken as fairly typical of the ideas of the American plutocracy, which, like its British aristocratic prototype, is particularly anxious that the masses should be kept as ignorant as possible and by no means be brought into contact with that culture and refinement which are to be regarded as the exclusive and distinctive property of a particular caste.

It is worth noting that the attacks on existing institutions come with much greater emphasis from the specialist who has a definite work to perform and who counts all else secondary than from the iconoclast and general fault-finder. Some of the most telling, because, for the most part, unconscious strokes at the present order are delivered by physicians, clergymen and others who find their special labors embarrassed and their progress impeded by the banalities of to-day. Conditions which favor class supremacy and which are manipulated for the benefit of a particular class are not such as render possible the accomplishment of special work of a social character. In this respect the educationalist suffers with the rest. The New York "Nation", a journal, which, whatever its drawbacks, has always maintained a high social ideal in matters of popular education, says, with respect to the above opinion of Comptroller Grant, "Intelligent citizenship!

Is that to be nurtured by an education adapted to the production of tally clerks and cash girls?—an education which gives no outlook upon the vast industrial civilization of our time, quickens and aids no aptitudes other than those of the pen and the tape measure, awakens and feeds no interests that are humanizing and civic? Genuine education is scarce begun, the tools of education are furnished—little more—to be used selfishly or socially, criminally or worthily, according as the development of the moral faculties, the sentiments, the energies, the aspirations of the child is directed."

This criticism of the educational specialist is unanswerable as a criticism. Its essential truth and validity are undeniable by anyone who has a real vital interest in the cultivation of the social potentialities involved in the proper development of the children of a community. But it is none the less idle and vain criticism. It is helpless in face of the actual conditions and these latter require the labor of the social revolutionist before a path can be prepared for the feet of the schoolmaster. Moreover it involves an assumption which really unhorses the critic himself and renders his contribution to the discussion of much less value than it deserved to be. The direction of the moral qualities of the child is regarded as the determining factor of education, as that which renders education of value or the reverse. This central truth that the chief value of education is the production of "moral", that is to say, social, human beings, is not to be gainsaid but how is the development of the "moral" faculties to be directed? The poor school teacher cannot be expected to undertake the task, since he is brought into conflict with social forces against which it would be vain for him to strive, and he, himself, with all his idealism and honest intentions, is, in reality, an integral part of the system against whose effects he would have to contend. He is in the position of one who endeavors to combat tuberculosis in a state of society which is perpetually piling up slums and consequent and unavoidable disease conditions. The pedagogue finally has no alternative but, like the physician and the clergyman, who likewise find their social efforts impeded by society, to turn round and blame the social institutions and most of all the capitalist foundation of those institutions for his failure to realize what he regards as educational ends.

Thus the "Nation," in the course of the very article to which we have hitherto referred, goes on rather unexpectedly but really quite naturally to say, "There is too much naive ignoring of the real and well known causes of our present failure to accomplish the results we have hoped in the

elementary school, namely, greatly overcrowded classes, which preclude individual attention; the poor physical condition of the children, due to underfeeding and insanitary conditions in the tenements; the foreign nationalities (twenty-seven in one school) and their varying standard of living and manners, and, we must add, the still insufficient equipment of our teachers, for which the too low standards of our training schools are partly responsible."

And so even our somewhat idealistic journal directly it comes to examine into a social matter in which it is really interested, and with whose characteristics it is thoroughly familiar, is obliged to leave the realm of abstract speculation and come down to the disgusting and actual facts. And what are the facts which according to the "Nation" lie at the base of the so called failure in public education? They consist in one word, in the meanness of the community towards education, in the insufficient provision for elementary education in proportion to its requirements as a social institution. All the defects of the educational system are traceable to the fact that society does not spend enough upon education, which means that the dominant class in society does not regard public education as of sufficient value. In spite of all the talk of educational progress and the incessant cant with which we are unceasingly deluged, the fact remains that public education is still regarded as a matter of minor importance. The "Nation" says that the system is adapted to the production of "tally-clerks and shop-girls" and these, or their equivalents in other branches of life, are precisely what the dominant class requires. In other words the citizens are not being trained as citizens in spite of all the flag-flapping and patriotic genuflections. The effort is to train servants for the dominant class and while such is the case the education will be that adapted for a servant not for a citizen, and history proves plainly enough that only that education will be bestowed upon a servant which tends to enhance his value as a servant.

The reason then for the educational outlook of Comptroller Grant and Chancellor Whitelaw Reid becomes painfully apparent. They speak not as educationalists, not as men who are interested in the educational problem *per se*, but as partisans who are anxious that the industrial lords shall be supplied with servants who are just sufficiently trained to perform their behests and no more.

Even though the great magnates were not so well supplied with retainers and even though the comprehension of the necessity of a broader and more widely diffused education were more generally understood still the persistence of

the existing economic system would seriously, if not entirely, interfere with anything like a properly and soundly organized effort at public education on more satisfactory lines because the poor physical development of the children due to under-feeding and unsanitary conditions in the tenements would of itself be sufficient to prevent the realization of the full benefit of any system of real education.

The obstacle which the pedagogue as such can never surmount lies in the poverty of the people or of such a proportion of the people as to render the effects of public education at least dubious; and a system of public education which does not educate can hardly receive the unadulterated enthusiasm of the educational specialist.

Still the contradiction between the system as it is and as it should be cannot prevent the enthusiast from stating his educational ideals and the "Nation" in unabated pursuit of its hobby goes on to say, "Democracy cannot prosper with parts of men for its pillars; it must produce whole men or perish," and it must do so "in spite of the tendency of modern industrial life to develop and use mere fractions of men, mere 'hands', the makers of small parts of things, mere cogs in the great commercial wheel." To educationalists possessed of these ideals and with such a definite grasp of the fundamentals of education in a democracy, the actual economic conditions which require the sacrifice of so large a portion of the population and the deprivation of its members of the education which the specialist regards as essential to the members of a democratic society must be very unsatisfactory.

Briefly, it appears necessary that the educationalist if he is to be logical, and if he is really in earnest, as, it must be conceded he appears to be, with respect to his educational ideals, must turn revolutionist and attack the economic conditions which paralyze his efforts and render abortive his attempts at reformation. But this the educational specialist obstinately refuses to do. Instead; he continues to proclaim his gospel of platitudes; and drowns his conscience in an ocean of talk.

The specialist disdains and rightly, the "old education" because it promotes "a narrow, routine intelligence, with the emphasis on drill, habit and memory" whereas democracy demands "reason, judgment, observation, originality". Yes, but the dominant economic class requires less and less of these latter qualities, as the system becomes more and more securely based, and the moneyed oligarchy more and more closely approximates the old static aristocracy. The "new education" cannot succeed in terms of the system of to-day, a fact with

which the pedagogue should be as well acquainted as the rest of us. "New education" has no chance against the system, for the faculties which the "new education" designs to cultivate are not the faculties required on the part of its servants by a static class in possession of the main sources of social wealth.

AUSTIN LEWIS,

The Oratory of Debs.

BY ROBIN E. DUNBAR.



IN THE first place, there is such a thing as genius, or the faculty of being able to do a hard task easily. A few illustrations; singing a leading part in grand opera; playing Chopin as Paderewski does; painting with Millais; carving the marble with Rodin; conquering science with Haeckel or philosophy with Dietzgen; writing poetry with the fire of Joaquin Miller, or the ecstasy of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Natural ability coupled with psychic force in these cases was recognized as genius.

Robert G. Ingersoll was the finished orator of the last years of the nineteenth century. He chose an unpopular subject, agnosticism, which was the despairing cry of "God knows, I don't" in religion. It was a purely negative position and negation repels rather than attracts converts. Nevertheless, by the charm of a lovable personality, by unflagging perseverance and a fine art of word phrasing, he made for himself a place in the world's group of orators.

Debs has been called the successor to Wendell Phillips, William Garrison and Abraham Lincoln. I would also call Debs the legitimate successor to "Col. Bob" even though this will call forth a shriek of dissent both from the admirers of "Bob" and of "Gene," for Debs has all that Ingersoll had, and all that Phillips had. He has humor and fire, good nature and fine training, natural art and finished phrasing.

He is the orator of laughter and tears, as well as of thrills and cheers.

There is all the loveliness in Debs that there was in Ingersoll. This spirit enabled the agnostic to preach to thousands his unpopular message. And it avails Debs in the same way. Preachers and churchgoers, as well as infidels and sceptics, flocked to hear the former. Capitalists and plutocrats, as well as Socialists and proletarians, crowd to listen to the latter.

There is not only a curiosity to hear the message, there is a desire to delight in the art.

* * * *

Wendell Phillips was the only one of the middle part of

the nineteenth century who was entitled to rank with the great orators. His message was that of freedom—freedom for the chattel slave. It was an unpopular message, even in the North, but his spirit, his eloquence, his power and his art made it heard of all men. He organized the feeling for freedom as well as spoke for it, and his speeches were all eloquent, because all made for the same cause. And he helped win another world's battle for liberty. He spoke without ranting, without hatred, but with restrained and well directed power and kindly love. Ingersoll ransacked literature, sacred and profane to seek out words, figures and all sorts of rhetorical weapons with which to assail the church. He pulled the Bible to pieces; he dissected it with master hand; he analyzed; he criticised and he destroyed, but he did not build up. He had no organization, and when he died agnosticism died with him. There is nowhere in the world a great vital body of men worshipping the unknowable God. Scientists of today are with Haeckel, worshipping nature. They are cosmic materialists. They have a religion called Monism, which is a positive creed, preaching this world for all men, and all men for this world. This is the religion of the Socialists, too. It is the religion of Eugene V. Debs. He has helped to organize it into a church, called the Socialist Party. He is its High Priest, and while he can use the sarcasm and ridicule of Ingersoll, he also makes use of the inspiration and fire of Phillips. He unites in himself the best qualities of them both. His message, now unpopular, is destined to become popular. He, hated and detested, is soon to become respected and admired, and whether he die now or ten years from now, he will always be recognized as the greatest orator of the early part of the twentieth century, that not only America but that the world has produced. For we are yet the land where the cry for freedom finds its most powerful expression. Witness Tom Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Wendell Phillips, John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, Walt Whitman, Joaquin Miller, Edwin Markham, Robert G. Ingersoll and Eugene V. Debs.



EDITOR'S CHAIR

Thoughts for Thanksgiving Day. It is a glad time for Socialists. These lines are printed too soon to give news of the elections, but no figures are needed to prove that Socialism has at last come to the front in America. In spite of the panic and industrial depression, nearly every Socialist paper is prospering, more good Socialist books are being sold than ever before, the party organization has had more than twice as much money for the campaign as in any previous year and nearly all of it has been contributed in small sums by thousands of wage-workers. Eugene V. Debs has toured the United States in the Red Special, and almost everywhere his meetings have overshadowed those of Taft and Bryan. Voters have trooped by the thousands to hear Debs, paying admittance fees for the privilege, while it has been hard for the Republicans and Democrats to find occupants for the free seats at their meetings. The sham fight between the two capitalist parties is about over, the real fight between Socialism and capitalism is beginning. This is a good time to live and we are glad we are living. We, the workers have for thousands of years been slaves to the owners. This slavery was necessary to develop a mode of production which could provide all with the comforts of life and banish forever the fear of want. Capitalism has solved this question of production; it has organized the workers on such a plan that a small portion of their labor power produces more than enough for all. Meanwhile the owners have converted themselves into mere parasites. The workers can do without them, and they are beginning to find it out. They see that poverty is no longer necessary, and because they see it, the day of poverty is nearly over. The sun of a new day is rising.

The Unending Campaign. The Socialist campaign does not end on election day. To the old-party politician, votes and offices are the end of all effort. To us, offices are unimportant, and votes are valuable just because they indicate a certain number of people who can be depended upon to help along the revolution. This

year's vote means far more than the vote of four years ago. For that vote was swelled by many thousand democrats who were disgusted at the nomination of Parker, but would have voted for Bryan had he been in the field. This year he is there, and any "freak" who has personal objections to Bryan can find ample comfort in Hisgen or Watson. Debs has stood clearly for revolution, and no mere reformer has any good reason for voting for him. The Debs vote is a revolutionary vote. But that is not saying that every Debs voter is a clear-headed revolutionist; only that he probably has the making of a clear-headed revolutionist in him. In the two years that will pass between now and the next congressional election no work is so important as that of making real socialists out of the new recruits who have come to us. The membership of the Socialist Party is now about 50,000. If every branch or local can be turned into a class for the study of socialism, the new interest that will be developed in the meetings will easily double the membership, and more important still, each member will have a chance to fit himself for the work of socialist propaganda. We shall soon be electing members to office. If we elect men who are ignorant of socialism, their folly will discredit the party and cause set-backs and waste of energy. The way to prevent this waste is to study socialism now, and get your neighbors to study it too.

Workingmen and the Courts. Apart from an occasional injunction, the civil courts, both of the United States and of the various states, are used to settle disputes between capitalists and to enforce contracts between capitalists, so that workingmen are naturally and logically indifferent to most of what they do. But it is otherwise with the criminal courts. If we are to believe the editors, teachers, preachers and other apologists of the present system, the object of these courts is to protect the People in their Inalienable Rights to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. But as a matter of fact, the courts and the police departments are coming to be run openly in the interest of the property owners with brutal disregard of the "Inalienable Rights" of the people without property. We take one case at random to illustrate, and we take it from Pittsburg rather than Chicago because we do not wish to mix up personalities with the issue under discussion, and so prefer to speak of men we do not know. The Pittsburg Gazette-Times in its issue of Oct. 19 says:

"Shot through the leg early Friday morning, when he attempted to break into the Westinghouse works in Wilmerding, Frank Sisco tried to make his escape from the Turtle Creek lockup yesterday. He was only prevented from doing so by the watchfulness of one of the guards and last night was committed to the county jail for 30 days as a suspicious person."

The Westinghouse people have been missing quantities of wire

recently and instructed their watchman to be on the lookout. Friday morning Special Officer Trax saw two men acting suspiciously around one of the windows. When he went toward them they started to run and Trax, after warning them, shot three times. The first two bullets went wild, but the third struck one man in the leg and he fell. The other man continued his flight.

Trax had the wounded man removed to the Turtle Creek lock-up. Here the prisoner gave the name of Frank Sisco. Medical attention was given him and he recovered quickly. Yesterday one of the keepers heard a sound coming from Sisco's cell and investigation showed that the prisoner had almost sawed his way to liberty and would have been out by nightfall.

Burgess Strange decided to commit the man to jail, where he would be safe.

Evidently to the mind of the reporter and most of the readers of the paper the actions of Trax and Strange seem entirely commendable, and Sisco seems a criminal. But examine the statements a moment. In the opening sentence it is said that Sisco attempted to break into the Westinghouse works, but when details are given it appears that he was only "acting suspiciously", and that apparently on a public street. He was breaking no law and was under no legal obligation to stand and talk with the watchman after the "warning". The watchman on the other hand was legally a "criminal" for firing the shot, which by his own showing was not in self-defence, and he would doubtless have been locked up for it if he had not been defending property interests. Instead of this, it was Sisco who was locked up, apparently without any legal proceedings whatever. It is hardly surprising that he had a poor opinion of the law, and tried to "make way for liberty" with a saw. Being discovered in this attempt he was committed to jail for 30 days as a "suspicious person." It really seems as if a "suspicious person" in Pittsburg must have money if he is to shine in society. It is a good deal the same in Chicago, only here the laws happens to be such that workingmen have a remedy for such practices in their own hands if they choose to apply it. In Illinois, and probably in other states also, a man can not be sentenced without a trial by jury unless he signs a waiver of a jury trial.

If arrested demand a jury trial. If drawn on a jury, remember that you are a judge of the law as well as the facts. Let every city wage-worker do these two things and our capitalist governments would be obliged to take energetic measures for the relief of the unemployed. As it is, the vagrancy laws are used relentlessly to frighten those out of work into underbidding those at work, and to lock up summarily any man out of work who dares to ask employment in other than the humblest tones. A man who helps himself to food because he is hungry is railroaded through to the bridewell almost without a hearing, because the police take advantage of his ignorance by making him sign a jury waiver with-

out knowing what it is. We who have jobs have not yet realized that our interests are bound up with those of the poor devil who goes to the house of correction. So we sit still and let the brutal policeman and the servile judge do as they like with him. What we might do is to let him know he has a right to a jury trial, and then if we are drawn on his jury, vote to acquit if we believe he acted as he was forced to act. If even one thousand of those arrested in Chicago on petty charges were to demand jury trials, and if half the juries acquitted the prisoners or failed to agree, the capitalist government would be panic-stricken, for the courts would be clogged so that the usual business could not be done, and unless the mayor is less efficient than we take him for, he would devise some measure for the temporary relief of the unemployed. In any event, we have "nothing to lose but our chains," and the jury is a weapon as yet untried that may serve the working class well in the stormy years that are just ahead.

A Working Class Party. The constitution adopted at the national convention of the Socialist Party last May has been almost unanimously ratified by a referendum of the membership, and goes into effect at the beginning of 1909. The most important change is that the executive committee of seven, now elected by a plurality vote of the membership, will hereafter be chosen by the National Committee, consisting of one or more members from each state. At first sight this may seem like a step away from democracy. But the practical effect of the old plan was that most of the members scattered their votes among a multitude of candidates who had no chance of election, while a small but well-organized minority succeeded in electing several members who are far from representing the temper of the party as a whole. The next four years will almost certainly be a period of rapid growth for the organization, and the acts of the new executive committee will shape to some extent the lines on which it will grow. Through all the little questions that the committee must solve from day to day, one larger question will inhere, namely, whether the Socialist Party is to put its main energy into getting votes and offices by whatever propaganda will get them most effectively, or whether it is to put its work into the development of clear-headed revolutionists who will not allow themselves to be diverted from one single aim, the destruction of capitalism. Is the Socialist party to work for reforms or for revolution? We believe three fourths of the members are for revolution. We believe most of the members of the National Committee are sincerely desirous of representing those who elect them. The next few weeks will be the time for those who want a revolutionary executive committee to make their wishes known.



The past two months have been a critical period for German Social Democracy—more critical, in fact, than any the party has known for half a decade. Last month I gave a brief account of the controversy that has been raging about the question of Socialist parliamentary tactics. This is not a new controversy: the problem with which it concerns itself has frequently demanded solution in times past and will doubtless reappear in the future. So deep is its theoretical significance, so wide was the meaning given it in the discussions of our German comrades, that the solution reached must be taken into account by Socialists the world over.

Six years ago the German party congress—in session at Lübeck—decided that Socialist parliamentary factions throughout the empire should consistently vote against the granting of budgets—except under very special circumstances. A vote for a budget, it was held, is a vote in support of a capitalist government; hence, inconsistent with the Socialist policy of criticism and opposition. This policy is the only one in harmony with the Marxian doctrine. According to Marx the position of the worker under capitalism grows steadily worse. Hence, no permanent good can be achieved by anything short of the abolition of the entire system. What are called tactical advantages are of no use.

The Revisionists, on the other hand, maintain that even under the capitalist system the condition of the proletariat is gradually improving. It seems to them that this improvement can be facilitated by judicious parliamentary alliances; that by throwing their votes here or there the Socialists may now and then gain favorable legislation which would otherwise be unobtainable. And every bit of favorable legislation is a new weapon in the hands of the workers. The better they are situated economically and politically the more effectively they can fight for their cause. Therefore, say the Revisionists, this problem of tactics is of vital importance; upon its solution depends the rapidity of our advance. So the principle at stake is the Marxian theory as to the position of the working class under capitalism.

The conflict of opinion was brought to a head by the recent actions of Socialist factions in the assemblies of Bavaria, Baden and Würtemberg—all south German states. Socialist representatives in all these assemblies supported their respective budgets. In one case the excuse given was that by so doing they were saving the government from the clericals; in another that the budget voted for contains provisions favorable to the working class. The actions and explanations of the south Germans roused a storm

of criticism—especially in the north. This was answered by the contention that conditions in north and south are very different. In the south constitutions are comparatively liberal, and so there the proletariat has a chance to gain advantages. Under the medieval laws of Prussia this may be impossible—but Prussia ought not to be allowed to dictate. In *Socialistische Monatshefte* this position has been vigorously defended by Comrades Bernstein, Heine and others.

The German Parteitag, or congress, met at Nuremberg, September 15-19. There were 362 delegates present—which makes this the most representative assembly the party has ever held. The whole matter of Revisionism as represented in the budget cases was thoroughly thrashed out. The debate lasted for two and a half days; so the decision arrived at must be taken as conclusive for the present.

The principal resolution under discussion was presented by the executive committee of the party. It is of so great importance that I translate it in full:

"The party convention indorses anew the resolutions of Lübeck and Dresden, which read: 'As long as the state remains in the hands of the ruling class it is an organ of class rule and constitutes a means of keeping down the propertyless masses. The political purpose of the proletarian class-struggle is to get possession of the powers of state by conquering the enemy. Any policy of compromise with the existing social and political order is not to be considered.'

"As a necessary consequence of this fundamental conception and in view of the fact that a vote in favor of a budget must be regarded as a vote of confidence in the government. Socialist representatives are always to refuse to vote in favor of a budget presented by an opposing government—except in case the defeat of such a budget through the action of our comrades means the acceptance of one less favorable to the working class.

"The granting of the budgets in the assemblies of Würtemburg, Baden and Bavaria is, therefore, out of harmony with the resolutions of Lübeck and Dresden.

"The refusal to vote for the budget, as a matter of principle, is a policy fully in accord with the present position of the propertyless masses, a position which makes necessary an uncompromising opposition to the existing, capital-serving political power.

"It is the never ending task of our agitation to enlighten the working classes continually in regard to this matter."

On the second day of the congress Comrade Bebel, though much broken in health, rose to open the discussion. The Lübeck resolution provided that only in very exceptional cases should Socialists agree to the granting of a budget. Bebel explained that in the congress of Lübeck only two possible cases were considered. If the withholding of Socialist votes from a budget should bring about the acceptance of one less favorable to the working class, or if the Socialists were in the majority and so could present a budget of their own, they would be justified in casting affirmative ballots. According to Bebel these were the only cases to be regarded as "exceptional" under the Lübeck resolution.

And the actions of the representatives in Bavaria, Baden and Würtemburg, he maintained, could be brought under neither of these cases. Since our whole activity is to give the proletariat such

an insight into present political and social order that a change will become inevitable, any coalition with this order is absolutely out of the question. The action of the south German comrades has been defended on the ground that the budgets supported granted increased wages to state employes. These increased wages were granted for two reasons: (1) because under capitalist control tariff and other similar measures have increased the cost of living; (2) because by preventing the utmost discontent the government wishes to keep its employes from the Socialist ranks. Further than this, whenever it raises wages it adds to the burden of taxation, which falls principally upon the backs of the workers. So when the matter is looked at in the large any capitalist budget gives no more to the workers than must be given: there is absolutely no reason why a Socialist should vote for it. So far as tactical advantages are concerned, the speaker showed that in cases in which alliances have been made the bourgeois parties have held to the Socialists only so long as they could make use of them. Quotations from bourgeois statesmen were read to prove that they recognize the class-struggle and realize that there can be no permanent compromise. When we consent to coalitions we are naively delivering ourselves into their hands. By so doing, we necessarily alienate the workers, and so lose the only power which can support us in the conflict.

This address by Comrade Bebel was answered at great length by three south Germans representing the parliamentary factions whose actions were under discussion. They attempted to show that the Lübeck resolution left it to the separate parliamentary groups to decide just what are the exceptional circumstances which justify a departure from the general rule of conduct in regard to the budget. Then they went on to prove that they had assisted in working out the details of the budgets in question, that they had secured concessions for the good of the working class—hence they felt compelled to vote in the affirmative. But all this was invalidated by the admission that Bebel was right when he said that the governments had given no more than was forced from them by economic conditions.

Comrade Ebert closed the debate with an appeal for party unity. The resolution of the Executive Committee was accepted by a majority of 258 to 119. It will be noticed that this resolution is more definite than that accepted at Lübeck. Only one exceptional case is recognized—and that is so defined that hereafter parliamentary groups will have their path clearly marked out.

After the result of the ballot had been announced Comrade Segitz, in the name of 66 delegates from Bavaria, Baden, Würtemburg and Hessen, presented the following protest: "The undersigned party members declare: The German party congress being the legitimate representative of the whole organization, we acknowledge it as the final authority in all matters of principle and in such matters of tactics as concern the entire empire. But we are also of the opinion that in all particular affairs of the politics of the individual states the state organization is the proper and competent power. On the basis of our common program it should determine the course of our politics in accordance with the particular circumstances in the various states. Therefore, the decision as to the vote on the budget should be left to the conscientious

judgment of parliamentary fractions responsible only to their state organizations."

The action of the congress together with the above protest has been widely discussed in journals and at public meetings. In general the north Germans support the action of the convention and the south Germans the protest. Just what will come of it all is hard to tell at the present moment. The question is, Just how far will the south Germans dare to go in their rebellion?

* * * *

The Socialists of Italy have also been having a national congress. It met only a few days later than that of the Germans and, significantly enough, dealt with the same general problem. To be sure the situation in Italy is so special and so complex that the conclusions reached have not the importance for the outside world which must be attributed to those arrived at by our German comrades. In fact, the lining up the various wings of the Italian movement is so different from anything we know in this country that it is difficult to give an intelligible account of them in a short summary of the convention proceedings.

In the first place it must be said that the changes of policy decided on at Florence, where the congress met, were not so momentous as had been represented. In the words of Comrade Lazzari, "We have changed directors, but the music remains the same." That is to say, the straight revolutionary wing of the party was replaced at the head of affairs by the Reformists, a faction hitherto corresponding to the German revisionists; but these Reformists themselves have changed with time so that now their name has become a libel. In some provinces they are the most radical of revolutionists.

There are in Italy four different tendencies in the labor movement, represented by factions or separate organizations. These are: (1) the syndicalists, the membership of which relies entirely on physical force, especially on the general strike; (2) the Integralist wing of the Socialist party, representing a sort of labor party movement; (3) the Revolutionary Socialist wing, standing for straight Socialism in connection with labor unionism; (4) the Reformist wing of the Socialist party. When they were originally formed these various groups might have been arranged according to a scale in the order in which I have named them: then we should have had at one end political forcists, at the other pure and simple politicians.

Now if the Reformist wing, with its original spirit and purpose, had come to dominate the movement, it would have been an irreparable calamity. But that is not what has occurred. So many concessions did the Reformists make that Comrade Morgari, the leader of the Integralists, finally voted with them. They agreed, first of all, not to go so far in their effort to take part in the practical affairs of government as to accept cabinet positions. They agreed, further, to form coalitions with other parties at the ballot box only under very exceptional circumstances. After declaring in a resolution that it held it advisable to institute constructive legislation in the interest of the working-class movement, the congress accepted the following as a declaration of the limitations which the party must subject itself to in the working out of its political program: "The congress is of the opinion, however, that political

action not designed especially to play a part in actual government, should always be clearly marked off from that of the bourgeois reformers. And even in case a temporary coalition is made the particular marks of the Socialist cause, the difference in methods and final purposes, should be emphasized, in order to make it clear to the workers that a class-struggle against the privileges of capitalist property is inevitable." The convention also passed strong resolutions against the physical forceists and against the general strike as an immediate weapon in the class-struggle.

So it appears that what really took place at Florence was a compromise between the various wings of the Socialist movement. Personally, the leaders of the Reformists were the victors; they are now to be the leaders of the party. But they had to promise to lead the workers in a clear-cut proletarian warfare on capitalism.



WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES



While this number of The Review is being printed and distributed the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor will be in session in Denver. It can hardly be expected that very great progress will be made over previous conventions. Doubtless the annual jurisdictional wrangles will be engaged in, as usual, the annual election of officers will probably result as usual and the annual and usual heap big talk in one breath and tales of woe in the next breath will be heard early and late.

There can be no distinct change made from reactionary and fossilized policies because the rank and file remain in a state of lethargy and continue to re-elect delegates possessed of mildewed and moss-covered ideas to represent them. Just how long that sort of thing will continue no man knoweth.

But while the big bulk of delegates will be composed of brethren who pride themselves upon their "conservatism"—and how they do like to roll that word over their tongues!—there will also be a few other delegates present who "see red," and they will undoubtedly do what they can to enliven the session.

It should be added that the annual talk has been going the rounds of dumping Gompers out of the presidency and promoting First Vice-President Duncan. There is little choice between the two. Of course, the political question will also be considered, and that will be the only real matter of interest before the annual and usual gathering of this ancient and honorable body.

As was intimated in the last number of The Review, the probabilities are that another great strike will be precipitated in the anthracite mining region of Pennsylvania next spring. During the past month there have been developments of an important character that foreshadow the coming crisis. The officers of the United Mine Workers have strained every nerve to organize the coal diggers and make ready to present their demands. They were quite successful in their organizing campaign, and during the midst of it a convention of the three districts was held at Scranton, Pa., where the demands were formally considered and adopted by practically unanimous vote.

The principal demands embrace the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America to negotiate wage contracts and its right to provide any method the body deems best to collect dues and assessments; that the eight-hour day be conceded without a reduction of wages; that all coal mined shall be paid for at the rate of 2,000 pounds per ton; that all employes paid \$1.50 or less per

day shall receive 10 per cent advance, and all employees paid more than \$1.50 and less than \$2 per day shall receive an increase of 5 per cent.

The convention represented approximately 150,000 miners, and, although the claim is made that not all are organized, there is no doubt but all will be in the union by spring or obey the order to cease work if no agreement can be arranged with the operators.

While no official action has been taken as yet by the operators, it is quite certain that they will refuse to grant the demands or any part of them. One of the most influential coal barons in the district expressed the individual opinion shortly after the convention was held that the operators would not concede a single demand made by the mine workers. He declared that the cost of production prohibits the wage advance demanded or the reduction of working hours from nine to eight per day, and that under no circumstances would they recognize the union in the sense of abandoning the open shop and collect dues for the union through the means of a check-off system.

Thus the lines of battle are pretty strongly drawn before negotiations are begun and some five months before the present agreement expires. It is not improbable that the operators will submit a counter proposition for a reduction of wages when the union's demands are presented, although the managers of several of the larger corporations in the combine are said to favor a policy of completely ignoring the union representatives and "running their business to suit themselves." Whichever plan is finally decided upon by the operators holds out scant comfort for the workers.

An interesting sidelight to the business transactions of the United Mine Workers is the political maneuvering that is taking place inside of the big organization. The nominations for the annual election of officers are taking place at present and it is certain there will be some new faces in the official family for the coming year. Secretary-Treasurer W. D. Ryan has declined a renomination to accept the position of commissioner for the operators of Southern Illinois, and Vice-President John P. White has also decided to retire from office. President Van Horn, of the Indiana miners, is being mentioned as a candidate for secretary, as are McCulloch, of Michigan, and several others.

The most prominent opponent of President T. L. Lewis is John Walker, president of the Illinois miners. Walker has always been a staunch adherent of John Mitchell and supported the latter's candidate for president, Congressman W. B. Wilson, last year, although the radicals were said to have lined up quite solidly for Lewis. Walker claims to be an independent Socialist and whether he can unite the progressive elements and the old Mitchell followers on himself is problematical. The fact of having abandoned the Alabama fight will count against Lewis, but that loss will be offset by the settlement he gained in the Northwest. Then, again, Lewis weakened himself in Indiana by ordering the miners back to work several months ago when they were in a strike, but he will loom up strong in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The forthcoming election will also see the passing of John Mitchell as a delegate to the A. F. of L., as the union's constitution debars members not actively employed at the trade from holding office.

Not satisfied with having created a great deal of confusion in

the local unions and central bodies by the injection of capitalistic politics, the A. F. of L. executive council has recently thrown another boom by ordering subordinate organizations to sever all connections with the American Flint Glass Workers, who are engaged in a jurisdictional controversy with the Green Bottle Blowers' Union, of which body D. A. Hayes, a vice-president of the A. F. of L., is president. Reports from various localities indicate that the membership is fully as much inclined to defy the executive council's edict in this instance as they were in the case of the brewery workers who were placed under the ban because they refused to permit their organization to be plucked to pieces by rival unions.

As a reply to the executive council's order the Ohio Federation of Labor elected President Thomas W. Rowe, of the American Flint Glass Workers, as their delegate to the A. F. of L. convention now in session in Denver. The Indiana Federation of Labor also refused to expel the "flints" and elected one of their members a vice-president of that body. Various city central bodies in glass manufacturing districts likewise declined to part company with the "flints," and in several instances strong resolutions of protest were adopted and forwarded to the powers at Washington.

The peculiar thing about this contest is that the flint glass workers, who are numbered among the most progressive toilers in the country, are not only desirous of joining the A. F. of L., but they offer to amalgamate with the green bottle blowers. But President Hayes, of the latter union, doesn't want combination, probably fearing that he might lose his official head. What Hayes does want is the jobs now held by "flints" for the green bottle blowers.

Contrary to the earlier reports made public last month, the papermakers did not abandon their strike against a reduction of wages. The announcement in *The Review* was based upon the statements given out by national officials of the union, who had been in conference with the trust magnates and accepted a reduction of 5 per cent. But when the proposition was submitted to a referendum of the membership they repudiated the reported settlement and refused to return to work unless the demand for a wage cut was entirely withdrawn. This the trust barons declined to do, charged the membership with having "broken an agreement," which they had no voice in arranging, and declared for the open shop, against further treating with the union and that strikers would be compelled to work as individuals. The action of the trust officials incensed the unionists and they demanded in turn that the fight be spread to include mills that supplied the combine's patrons with paper. This move was made and a number of important independent mills were added to the strike roll. The trust has been endeavoring to make a start to operate with strike-breakers, but with poor success, as it requires considerable skill to operate a plant and obtain good results.

And once more railway magnates in New York and Chicago are broadly hinting at wage reductions. Some of the corporations, like the Pennsylvania, the Big Four, the Lehigh Valley, the Lackawanna, the N. Y. N. H. & H. and others, have been so successful in imposing unsatisfactory conditions upon certain employes and bluffing others to a standstill that the managers are becoming im-

bued with the notion that they occupy an advantageous position and can enforce almost any demands they may make.

The managers have been playing a shrewd game during the past year or so to keep the workers divided. While coddling the old brotherhoods, especially the engineers and conductors, on the one hand, they threw the harpoon into the shop men, such as the boilermakers, machinists and kindred trades. It is not unlikely that the turn of the brotherhoods will come next.

The great strike of the shop employes on the Canadian Pacific Railway has been declared off—lost. While the shopmen were fighting desperately to maintain their organization and decent working conditions, the engineers, firemen, conductors, trainmen, etc., worked with scabs imported from the states and from Europe, and thus by keeping trains moving aided to break the strike. It is only one more illustration of what a vicious, not to say downright criminal, scheme craft autonomy actually is in practice.

Here's another example: After four years of hard fighting from the Mississippi river to the Pacific coast and from the Ohio river to the gulf, the machinists have been compelled to abandon their strikes on the Santa Fe and the L. & N. railways. The engines and cars built ad prepared in the railway shops by strike-breakers were hauled over the roads by members of the old brotherhoods without the slightest objections. No wonder that onlookers become disgusted with such "unionism." Some union cards cover a multitude of sins.

It looks as though certain of the old brotherhood chiefs are endeavoring to barter and deliver the railway workers to the corporations wholesale. One of the latest snares calculated to bind the workers more firmly to the corporation juggernaut is labeled the "American Railroad Employes and Investors' Association." The purpose of this holy labor-and-capital combination is stated to be to cultivate and maintain "a spirit of mutual interest" between "employes, investors and the public"—everybody. Furthermore, "this association shall at no time be used for partisan political purposes, nor shall it take part in any controversy, if any, which may arise between railroad employes and railroad officials."

As this wonderful association will strive to make everybody happy—employers, employes and the dear public—and will engage in no political and industrial movements, some unsophisticated persons probably imagine that it will go into the business of holding prayer meetings or pink teas. It can be well surmised that the railway managers will hardly endorse strikes, no matter what he grievances may be, and when it is understood that Chief Morrisey has resigned from the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen to accept the job of directing this wonderful aggregation, with a salary of \$6,000 per year, and that other chiefs will be on the board of managers, it can be easily seen that the old brotherhoods will be more thoroughly petrified than ever, if such a thing is possible.



NEWS & VIEWS

Self-Interest. In the last article of the News and Views Department of the October Review, Lincoln Braden quotes with approval L. G. Hobson's words: "In whatever direction we turn, I believe we shall always make the same discovery; whatever is economically necessary is ethically desirable and vice versa." But L. B. "rejects as idealistic". Hobson's "conclusion that 'ethics is the science of transforming our economic conceptions into a code of conduct.'" He rejects it, that is "if we are to accept his definition of our code of conduct" as being "our conception of our relationship to mankind" or to "our neighbor," because nothing to the average man is "ethically desirable" unless it is "economically necessary" to HIM individually." "We are not Socialists," continues L. B., "nor do we adopt a code of conduct because Socialism or that particular code of conduct is 'economically necessary,' and hence 'ethically desirable' for our neighbors, but for OURSELVES." Now if L. B. had ended with that sentence "nothing to the average man," etc., I should consent to say nothing. But when he says "WE are not Socialists . . . for our neighbors but for ourselves" (the capitals, too, are his), I am moved to suggest that he add, with Dickens's attorney, "I speak for Self & Krags." He does not speak for me. I am a Socialist. Have been one for twenty years and think I know the literature of Socialism quite thoroughly. Have paid dues regularly as a member of the Socialist party during all its existence. Have lectured for the Socialists to all sorts of people. Am on the state ticket as one trusted by Socialists and am always giving and working to promote Socialist propaganda, but "SELF-INTEREST," so far from being the motive with me, would, had I yielded to it, have kept me out of the Socialist ranks altogether. I am getting old. I have been out of pocket and shall be to the end, for the Work's sake. I know that this will never advance me a cent economically. Were it not for my neighbors and their children and their childrens' children I would allow my subscriptions to Socialist papers to expire, stop buying and giving away Socialist literature and cease proclaiming the doctrines of Socialism and paying my dues into its treasury. There are some millions of us, and unless the Socialist party can get at least a million votes of those who feel as I do, it will never elect a president or a congress. L. B. may think if he only had my ear for an hour, he could convince me of his wisdom. But he will pardon my seeming presumption if

I say that I am already as familiar as he, or any one else can possibly be with all his reasoning and philosophy. I know that concerning our ever-growing numbers, it is not the truth.

El Monte, Calif.

Huddersfield, England. The capitalist papers over here have only tales to tell of your Republican and Democratic presidential candidates which would give us all the impression that there were only these two. In our Socialist and labor papers, however, we got reports of Debs and your splendid Red Special campaign. Comrade Charles Lapworth, formerly editor of our local "Worker," is now sending us reports of the work you are doing. We are now running ten candidates for the municipal elections and last night nominated H. Snell, Secretary of the Ethical Society, as our parliamentary candidate. Yesterday I cycled over to Accrington in Lancashire to see a comrade and found him very much disgusted with revisionism and the other comrades preparing themselves for the study of economics during the winter months. They are strong industrial unionists. Everybody is seeking knowledge and the best way to attain it. Comrades Sanderson has another club under way and we shall be sending for more books in about three weeks. Let me know when I can do anything for you over here.

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Comrade Grayson. Have you read of Comrade Grayson's outburst in the House of Commons on the Unemployed? He called the Labor Members traitors to the cause as he was going out after the scene. From the reports of the Labor Members' meetings, up and down the country, they appear one like the other. Induction says that he had a private meeting in order to be unanimous in their condemnation of Grayson. Philip Snowden, at Blackburn, said on Sunday that when Grayson received his last quarter's salary of fifty-two pounds, he gave a sumptuous dinner to some of his friends and that this dinner made the waiters of the house gossip for many days because of its splendor. The press representatives went to investigate and after much scratching of heads among the whole staff of waiters, they found one who remembered that he had four of his friends to dinner, at \$2 a head. And so on with other malicious statements made by Philip Snowden, the great man of Sunday school platforms. There is talk of stopping Grayson's salary and the papers are filled with slinging of personalities. But it is not the Socialists who are washing their linen in capitalist papers. They are for Grayson en masse and the S. D. P. passed a resolution thanking him. However, Grayson is expelled for this session. The police are now following him for his inflammatory speeches to the unemployed.—Fred Shaw, Huddersfield, England.

Education. Dear comrades:—Enclosed find money order for twenty copies of the November Review containing the first lesson of Comrade Cohen's Course in Socialism. I am a mere common workingman with no more schooling than the law is supposed to compel. My greatest desire has long been to attain a scientific education but Capitalism has decreed otherwise. However, I subscribe to socialist papers and have a fine socialist library. I believe that the socialist movement is necessarily an educational, as well as

a political one, and that now is the time for us to work along educational lines. Comrades, one and all, enlighten yourselves!

R. A. Huebner.

A Question.—Inasmuch as the Socialists recognize the truth of economic determinism, or in other words that people's material interests dominate their actions—why is it that in the Socialist literature and propaganda generally the Socialists appeal more to the utopia than to the immediate material or constructive policy? Is it not a fact that an exposition of the constructive policy of the Socialist party is productive of better results than the continuous harping upon the bitter class struggle or revolutionary tactic?—M. Youtz, 2 Viola Summit Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Reply by the Editor. In the first place, our correspondent has mis-stated the "truth of economic determinism", as he will readily see for himself by referring to the classic statement of that theory in Engels' preface to the Communist Manifest (page 8 of our edition). It is the prevailing mode of production, not individual "interests" alone, that dominates people's actions. But our comrade is still more seriously mistaken when he imagines that the Socialist Party has a constructive policy which stands in contrast to the class struggle. The Socialist Party the world over recognizes that the class struggle is the only effective means for improving the material condition of the workers. No reform will abolish poverty while the wage system lasts. Reforms will be conceded by the ruling classes in the hope of checking the growth of socialism, and the quickest way to get these, if one cares for them, is to increase the army of revolutionists.

PUBLISHERS DEPARTMENT

ALL RECORDS BROKEN.

The receipts of the Review for October exceed five hundred dollars and our book sales for the month will approximate \$2,400; we go to press too soon to give exact figures, but the month sets a new record. The success of the Review is especially gratifying, because for nearly eight years it was a drain on the slender income of the publishing house. Our new policy of endeavoring to make the Review each month enjoyable as well as instructive is bringing us new friends every day.

An Easy Way to Get Books. We want YOUR help in bringing the Review to the attention of new readers, and we do not ask you to work for nothing. We offer no cash commission for the reason that Socialists have a way of cutting prices on periodicals when they can, not wishing to make any profit for themselves on their work for socialism. This is all very well, but if we allow it, the subscription price of the Review would generally be cut by the amount of the commission, and those who had paid the full dollar would feel cheated. So we propose to hold the price uniformly at a dollar for new and old subscribers, stockholders and non-stockholders. Our book offer is only to those who are already subscribers, and who send us the names of new subscribers at a dollar a year. Under the conditions just named we will send by mail or by express prepaid any books published by us to the amount of one dollar at retail prices for every dollar sent with the name of one new subscriber for a year or with the names of two new subscribers for six months. The books, we repeat, are NOT for the new subscribers, but for the hustlers who send in the names.

Book Catalogue Free. A descriptive list of our books will be sent to any one requesting it. When ordering books, always be sure that you have our latest list before you. We are constantly

publishing new books and dropping old ones. The American socialist movement is constantly growing clearer, and some semi-utopian pamphlets which were freely circulated a few years ago are now being discarded by all well-informed socialist workers. Our latest list will show you what to order and what not to order if you wish to get the best returns for your time and money.

Our Co-operative Publishing House, by combining the slender resources of two thousand working people, has at last reached the point where it can bring out such books as the socialist movement needs, and can supply them to its co-operators at prices far below their values. (If you want to know how this is possible, read the third volume of Marx's "Capital".) We are now gradually paying off what remains of our interest-bearing debt. Our stockholders receive no dividends and expect none; what they do get is the privilege of buying books at cost, and this cost will soon be reduced by our being able to market larger and larger editions of the new and standard socialist books, so that all our stockholders, both new and old, will soon be able to get better books for their money than ever before.

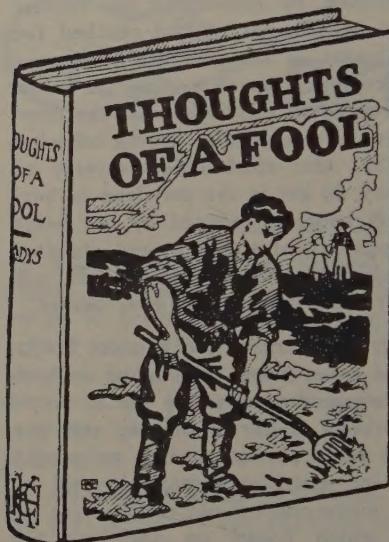
How to Become a Stockholder. A share of stock costs \$10.00. If you can spare this amount at one time, it will save labor on both sides to pay for the share in full when you subscribe for it, but if you wish, you can pay at the rate of a dollar a month, and get the stockholders' discount. This is forty per cent when we prepay postage or expressage; fifty per cent when expressage is paid by purchaser. This discount might not mean much if our retail prices for books were higher than those at which books on sociology and economics are usually sold. But they are lower.

Marx's Capital, of which two volumes are now ready and the third will appear early in 1909, is published by us at \$2.00 a volume. Volume I contains 869 large pages, volume II 618, Volume III will contain nearly 900. Capitalist publishers charge \$4.00 or even \$5.00 a volume for such books; our stockholders buy these volumes at \$1.00 each if they pay the expressage; \$1.20 if we pay it.

The Third Volume of Capital is far easier and pleasanter reading than the other two. In them, the author had to establish certain theoretical principles, by a process of difficult reasoning. In the third volume he applies these principles to real life and shows how they work out in actual practice. This third volume will be of untold value to our propagandists outside the large cities, because it enables us to show how it is that the small producer, like the wage-worker, gets under the profit system only the value of his labor power, plus a trifle more or less than the average profit on what little capital he may have. This enables us to show that the material interests of the small producers are the same as those of the wage-workers, and that

a clear revolutionary program will serve them better than chasing after petty reforms.

Every man or woman who intends to do any writing or any public speaking on socialism must read this third volume or else find himself at a needless disadvantage. And to understand the third volume you must have read the other two. Better order them at once, and be ready to read Volume III when it appears, a few weeks from now.



keen satire of "Thoughts of a Fool" and their acquaintances' morals book alone; it would annoy them. make an acceptable Christmas gift if sent to the right person. Cloth, \$1.00.

Thoughts of a Fool, by Evelyn Gladys, is a delightful book of essays, emphasizing an essential part of the international socialist program that is sometimes misconceived by our well-meaning friends and sometimes misrepresented by our clever enemies. The morals of working people are now rigidly regulated by judges, policemen, and sometimes priests. But revolutionary working people are perverse enough to think themselves competent to regulate their own morals, and while they propose to socialize the means of production, they also propose to stop the meddlesome interference of functionaries with other people's affairs. Those who share this view will enjoy the "Fool"; those who think their own need regulating should let the It is beautifully printed and will

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